



Daily Report

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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Defense Spending Drops in 1993 Russian Budget; Inflation Forecast at 70%

Briefing a Russian Government meeting on the economy on 16 November, President Yeltsin revealed that the projected 1993 deficit "will be more or less civilised"—4.8% of the GNP, according to ITAR-TASS. But Finance Minister Barchuk tempered the president's remarks by pointing out that "in 1993 prices the deficit will total" 8%. Forecasts see inflation running close to 70%. The percentage of the budget devoted to defense spending will drop while allocations for social services will rise; "defense spending will comprise 12 percent of all allocations compared" to 15.7% in 1992.

Yeltsin "welcomed more allocations for social needs, but added local budgets are to receive more money. 'Without an increase of spending of local budgets reforms would not go,'" he said. He also expressed his unhappiness "with the inappropriate level of decentralization of the economy reflected in the draft budget," saying that "reforms at places will skid without the increase of the expenditure part of the local budgets," reports INTERFAX.

Russian Defense Minister Vows Loyalty to People, President, Supreme Soviet

Russian Defense Minister Grachev, responding to a Supreme Soviet deputy's accusation that he was plotting a coup attempt, heatedly denied the remark as "a blatant provocation and a lie," reports Moscow television. He stated categorically that "the question of introducing a state of emergency has never been raised at the Security Council sessions or at the government collegium, or by the Russian president." Furthermore, according to ITAR-TASS, Grachev affirmed that "the Russian Army was, is, and will be the people's [narodnoy] and with the people. The military leadership and the personnel of the Armed Forces will remain loyal to the Constitution and the reforms; they will support the nationally elected president and the decisions of the Russian Supreme Soviet. It is not the whipping up of passions but the fullest moral and material support on the part of the people, the parliament, and the president which the Russian Army needs today."

Ukrainian Official Denies Plans To Formulate Own Nuclear Codes

Ukrainian Deputy Defense Minister Tarasyuk has denied knowledge of "any kind of attempts to draw up Ukraine's own nuclear weapons codes," according to Kiev radio. The minister, who chairs the Ukrainian Disarmament Committee, was responding to a NEW YORK TIMES report "that one of the institutes in Kharkov is working out new nuclear weapons codes."

Defense Official Assesses Missile Forces Future

PM1311215192 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Nov 92 p 1

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel Yuriy Mamchur and Major Aleksandr Dolinin: "Russia Will Keep Its Nuclear Shield. And It Will Be Reliable Enough"]

[Text] "A turning point has been reached in the development of our strategic nuclear forces. Work is being done to seek their optimum composition and structure," Andrey Kokoshin, Russian Federation first deputy defense minister, declared during a visit to the Rezhitsa Red Banner Guards' Division of the Strategic Rocket Forces.

The breakup of the USSR and the emergence of a number of independent states have led not only to the dismemberment of the nuclear deterrent force but also to the breaking off of many collaborative ties in industry relating to the production of arms and military hardware. The economic crisis and the sharp drop in defense spending in 1992 are putting missilemen in still more difficult conditions. In addition, new international accords are coming into force with respect to nuclear weapons—the Treaty on Strategic Offensive Arms and the framework agreements. All this is happening with Russia in a new geopolitical position and in a changed international and military-political situation.

"These facts demand an in-depth revision of many previous approaches and a careful assessment of all our resources—both technical and economic," Kokoshin said. "We are standing on the threshold of major decisions with regard to precisely which systems we will adopt, which ones we will develop and modernize further, and which ones we will eliminate. To this end a series of meetings has been held with general designers of missile hardware and employees of a number of leading scientific research institutes. Now we have come to this division, where we wanted to ascertain for ourselves a whole number of important nuances."

The Rezhitsa Division was certainly not chosen by chance. It reflects the present state of the Strategic Rocket Forces—the basis of Russia's strategic nuclear forces. Some regiments are performing combat duty, others are disarming and participating in elimination measures. Experiments to extract the launch silos by means of a directed explosion have been conducted successfully on the basis of just this combined unit—about which our newspaper has already written.

On the whole, the combat collective is living in expectation of changes, new hardware, and a new staff-organizational structure. What will happen to the division in the next two or three years? The "hundreds," as the MR UR-100 missiles are customarily called, will gradually be replaced by RS-12M's—the so-called Topols based on mobile launchers—which is entirely in keeping with the policy of modernizing missile armaments. A significant role in the adoption of this decision

was played by the fact that it is exponentially cheaper to put the Topols on combat duty than stationary complexes. This does not mean that the latter are being abandoned altogether: In time the optimum combination of both will be found.

During the work, the meetings, and the talks, the missilemen described and showed to those present—including a large group of journalists, maybe for the first time—much of what had previously been kept under seven seals, as the saying goes, including a mobile alternate command post and a launch silo. The first deputy defense minister and the commander in chief of the Strategic Rocket Forces also visited the secret compartment where the first and second members of the command post's combat crew "keep their finger on the button"—perform intensive, continuous duty, in a constant waiting regime.

Much has been written and spoken about the incredible responsibility and the nervous and physical loads which fall to the lot of missilemen. Alas, as Major General A. Gribov, the division commander, said, they have recently increased still further. Units are as much as 25-percent undermanned in terms of soldiers and sergeants. As everywhere, there is a shortage of housing, and galloping prices hit at officers' empty pockets. Despite all this, missilemen still set an example of professionalism, competence, and selfless fulfillment of military duty. Kokoshin also pointed this out after meeting with the division's officers.

Among the complex and frequently pointed questions addressed to the first deputy defense minister, to A. Piskunov, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Defense and Security Committee, and to Colonel Gen. I. Sergeyev, commander in chief of the Strategic Rocket Forces, there was this one: Will "wholesale" conversion not affect the interests of the troops' combat readiness? What is seen as a sensible limit on the reduction of strategic offensive arms?

We believe that these questions are of concern not only to missilemen but also to all Russians who are not indifferent about the homeland's destiny.

The chief criterion for the extent of the reduction of strategic offensive arms is the availability of the quantity and quality of nuclear means that will not leave any side with even the hypothetical possibility of making a pre-emptive strike that cannot be answered, Kokoshin pointed out. As regards the pace of the reduction, it must correspond to the actual state of the nuclear deterrent force and to the country's economic potential. For the purpose of selecting the optimum path an in-depth comparative analysis is being made of all options for the development of the strategic nuclear forces. Account has to be taken of the fact that their existing model has to a considerable extent exhausted itself, and many arms systems have virtually ended their life cycle. Policy in the sphere of research and development is determined on this basis.

In any case there is to be a sharp reduction in the number of types of missiles—which will considerably simplify their operation. One of the chief priorities will be the development of a battle management and communications system. The enhancement of their reliability and operational efficiency is far more effective and economically advantageous than the creation of new means of destruction. Considerable attention will also be devoted to enhancing the protection of launchers and other vitally important facilities against acts of terrorism.

Despite the destruction of collaborative ties caused by the breakup of the Soviet Union, Russian industry is capable of producing everything necessary for the nuclear deterrent force, the first deputy defense minister emphasized. This does not mean, however, that we are abandoning cooperation with other CIS states when this meets the interests of Russia's security and mutual interests. The Strategic Rocket Forces grouping and our nuclear forces as a whole will be developed with due regard for our international obligations. But above all, of course, the interests of strategic stability will be taken into account.

Discusses Modernization With Officers

*LD1311114892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya
Ostankino Television First Program Network in
Russian 1800 GMT 12 Nov 92*

[Report by Aleksandr Ukhov in Novgorod Oblast; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] We often speak of a nuclear shield as if forgetting that we also have a nuclear sword. Here, in the boundless forests at the junction of Novgorod, Tver, and Leningrad

oblasts is the edge of this sword—permanently-installed and mobile missiles of the Rezhitsa division. For example, from here the SR-16 missile can hit practically any target on our planet. After blasting off from its silo it will find its target at a distance of almost 11,000 kilometers. There is a constant combat duty at the command point—to get there one must first go through a tunnel for a long time and then for almost a minute and a half descend by elevator. It is only a matter of seconds from the moment the system has been activated to the moment the missile is launched—even less than this report will last. At present in line with international accords missiles of the SR-16 type and others will be eliminated in the Rezhitsa division, moreover, together with their silos. Instead, it is planned to transfer here mobile missiles of the Topol (Poplar; known in the West as Sickle) type or SS-25 as they are sometimes called from Belarus, which has announced itself a nuclear-free power. Russian strategic missile troops will begin their modernization. This was the topic of the conversation with the division's officers.

[Addressing Russian Deputy Defense Minister Kokoshin] What is the principled difference between Russian strategic nuclear forces and the strategic nuclear forces of the former Soviet Union?

[Kokoshin] Well, of course they will be reduced considerably. There will be a new balance of various parts of strategic nuclear forces. One of the tasks of our visit [to the Novgorod area] was just defining many important nuances that would help us correct development plans and make more efficient use of the means that are allocated to us from the budget and that are in fact part of the defense burden that is being borne by the whole people. [Video shows the site; a missile silo; a command point]

Results of Heads of State Meeting Reported

LD1311160892 Moscow Mayak Radio Network
in Russian 1400 GMT 13 Nov 92

[Text] The seventh sitting of the CIS Council of the Heads of State took place today in Moscow. Our observer Valeriy Kiosa attended it. So, Valeriy, what is there to say about the results of the meeting?

[Kiosa] Eighteen draft documents were included in the agenda for the meeting, and 12 of them were adopted. Among those agreements that gave rise to no notable disagreements were, for example, the one on the CIS states' mutual recognition of visas, on the interstate space council, and on the council on labor, migration, and social protection of the population, which is very important, bearing in mind our economic situation today. There is also a document that is to regulate the interstate market in securities. It only remains to ensure that these documents appear. The block of military questions, among which were information interaction and weapons standardization, did not generate any notable disagreements.

The following draft documents were not approved—the charter for an interstate radio and television company, and the document on a single value-added tax rate. Here the point is that parliaments have to ratify such an agreement, since the establishment of fiscal policy is the prerogative of parliaments. Nor did it prove possible to agree on a document on the use of rail transport for freight, since the participants had to deal with two tasks that were, in effect, mutually exclusive: how to divide up the freight-car stock, on the one hand, and, on the other, to ensure the functioning of rail transport as a single complex.

As for the Commonwealth charter, it was not planned to be signed at this meeting. It was only to be discussed, and a document was to be prepared for discussion at the Minsk meeting of heads of state. However, Ukrainian Prime Minister Kuchma declared during the meeting that Ukraine was not prepared to sign the document in its present form.

Such are the results. It is noteworthy, however, that the Commonwealth countries have still not managed to reach agreement on the main economic problems—the slump in production, inflation, prices, credit policy, and budget policy. Admittedly, at the final news conference, it was said that the premiers realized that and thought the Minsk meeting would deal with the economy. It may be supposed that it will be a matter of economic problems, but, at the moment, it is hard to believe that any real results will be achieved.

In order to prepare the Minsk meeting, it is expected that, next week, talks will take place between finance ministers and, possibly, the heads of Central Banks, and the subject of the meeting will be budget policy.

Premiers Meeting Another Nail in Coffin of Ruble Zone Myth

MK1611101792 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA
in Russian 14 Nov 92 p 1

[Vera Kuznetsova report under the general heading: "No Use Crying Over Karbovanets—Life Easier for Gaydar. Alone in 'Ruble Zone' Russia May Improve Its Finances."]

[Text] Ukrainian Premier Leonid Kuchma, who chaired yesterday's session of the CIS heads of government in Moscow, said its greatest achievement was the agreement on an interstate space council. Opinions were not divided on the question of dividing up the Universe. In every other respect the CIS divorce process is moving forward slowly, as before. As for the charter, although it was decided to approve the draft, Ukraine will not sign this version. At the same time Kuchma confirmed his republic's membership of the CIS and commented of the session that it is inadmissible for the heads of government to meet to discuss secondary issues, because the economy has to be tackled in Minsk on 4 December.

However, neither Leonid Kuchma nor his Russian colleague Yegor Gaydar were overly keen to debate the problems of the so-called "ruble zone" at the CIS "roundtable." The top men instructed finance ministers and bankers to debate this issue; according to preliminary reports, they will meet in Moscow on 17 November. They themselves pretended that there is nothing special in the introduction of the karbovanets in Ukraine. Yegor Gaydar only reiterated: "This comes as no surprise" and "will have no catastrophic consequences for a single member of the CIS." It follows from his explanations—that talks on the introduction of the karbovanets had been under way for a long time and that everyone was aware of it—that Russia and Ukraine have settled their relations between them, leaving other republics out of it. Kuchma and Gaydar performed a harmonious double act here.

In the view of the Russian acting prime minister, one small thing is holding things up now: It is necessary to reach agreement on dividing up the foreign debt, providing one another with credit in the new currencies, and opening accounts in state banks... This is a "small holdup" for Russia and Ukraine, but the hour when the "ruble zone" myth is debunked is drawing nearer for the other members of the CIS. If it has not already dawned. At any rate Belarusian Premier Vyacheslav Kebich said: "The ruble zone virtually does not exist. We have a bilateral clearing system that is destroying the ruble zone." Kebich pointed out that it is Gaydar who is fighting for this system and thus, maybe for the first time, defined Russia's monetary policy at this level as geared to the introduction of national currencies rather than, as it is customary to think, to the preservation of the "ruble zone." However the republic's premier kept quiet about the possibility of the appearance of a Belarusian currency, citing reasons of secrecy.

Kebich's "exposure" of Gaydar did not, however, cause a sensation. By some secret agreement the CIS heads of government will continue to preserve the "ruble zone" myth. Some because they have not yet had their new currency printed abroad. Others because they cannot afford their own currency.

Russian Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin said after the session of the CIS heads of government that his republic is preparing several protocols on the procedure for dividing up the foreign debt for signing with Armenia, Moldova, Tajikistan, and Ukraine. "Until the details are agreed," Shokhin said, "Ukraine is delegating to Russia the authority to conduct talks on the foreign debt."

Status of Former Intra-USSR Borders Examined

*PM1311150192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
7 Nov 92 Morning Edition p 2*

[Igor Andreyev report on commentary by Colonel Aleksandr Baranov, chief of the Russian Federation Border Troops Staff Directorate for State Border Protection: "Russia Closing Its Borders"]

[Text] On 5 November, the Russian parliament adopted the decision to establish a state border regime along Russia's borders with Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Colonel Aleksandr Baranov, chief of the Russian Federation Border Troops Staff Directorate for State Border Protection, now comments on the situation along this and other borders of the former USSR.

The paradox of the present situation with our borders is that neither professional border guards nor legal experts can clearly define the concept of "Russian state border." In any case, there are still no Russian legal acts—apart from the recently adopted parliamentary decision—defining what it is, or, indeed, the rights and responsibilities of people in green caps, border regulations, and much else by which border troops used to be guided in the past. There is also no approved strategy for the protection of Russia's borders and, therefore, no real prospect of organizing such protection.

So what is happening along the former borders of the Soviet Union and the new, de facto borders, so to speak? What do the professionals think about them and what do they expect from politicians?

However varied the political situations in the former Soviet republics may be, Col. Baranov and his colleagues assert that Russia now has several categories of borders. The first category includes those that coincide with the borders of the former Soviet Union, most of which are enshrined in international treaties. The second category consists of administrative borders with CIS countries which have yet to be given official status as state borders. Finally, there are the borders that divide Russia from states not belonging to the Commonwealth.

Despite the existence of common problems along borders of all categories, frequently reported by the mass media, there are also distinct specific features. It is well known that the Transcaucasus and Tajikistan are characterized by arms smuggling, strong-arm pressure on border guards, blackmail, threats, attempted bribery, and even the blockading of border posts and armed attacks on them. Borders with the Baltics, on the other hand, are characterized by the illegal, virtually uncontrolled export of raw materials and scarce goods from Russia. The imbalance between exports and imports is so great that 21 times more goods are dispatched than received.

As far as border guards are concerned, the future of Russia's borders with Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia is now the clearest. These borders are to become a proper state border. Border troops withdrawn from the Baltics (60 percent of their number so far) are taking up position along administrative borders between Russia and the former Soviet republics. According to Col. Baranov, it looks as if a "closed" border regime is about to be established with Georgia and Azerbaijan, although in the former case this is hampered by the position of Chechnya, and in the latter by that of Dagestan due to the unresolved "Lezgin question." In the south, border troops from Kazakhstan and the Central Asian republics are taking up the protection of CIS borders, while Russians in Tajikistan are being assigned to the region bordering on Afghanistan. But wherever Russians are being squeezed out by national formations, the Commonwealth's external borders are no longer "impregnable." As a result, more than 6,000 attempts by citizens of third countries to illegally penetrate East and West Europe via Russia were brought to light in 1991 alone.

Border guards are aware that the administrative division of the former USSR is fairly conditional and has been implemented without the delimitation and demarcation usual in international practice. It is potentially controversial, but unfortunately there is no other legal basis for territorial demarcation. Border troops realize that it is going to be extremely painful to sever the historical ties between "us" and "them." They propose that, along every border, politicians establish the kind of regime that will not hinder good-neighborly relations between countries or the flow of transport.

As far as the shortcomings of administrative division are concerned, according to Col. Baranov, the interested parties should gradually determine the state border line in the course of negotiations. But he admits that, due to long-standing and new territorial claims on Russia, these negotiations could be blocked or prolonged. If that happens, border troops feel that the state border should be properly equipped and tougher measures taken to protect it. Primarily where neighboring countries are reluctant or unable to guard their external borders as they were guarded in the days of the USSR.

In Col. Baranov's opinion, the state border must be established gradually. First, the Ministry of Internal

Affairs and customs should seal off all channels for the transportation of large freight consignments by rail, air, water, and road. Then steps should be taken to create the infrastructure necessary for border protection and customs control. Finally, full-scale passport and customs control should be established everywhere. Admittedly, Aleksandr Nikolayevich amplified, the main purpose of such a border would be to protect Russia's economic interests, rather than to cut it off completely from the outside world, as was the case in the past.

In the meantime, with most of Russia's borders "transparent," border guards see particular difficulties in coordinating measures to protect the external borders of states with their own border troops—Belarus, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Kazakhstan—and of countries that do not border on Russia—Moldova, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan.

According to border guards, any delay in resolving these problems is fraught not only with political and social complications in Russia and neighboring countries, but also with problems among border troops themselves. People are disoriented, particularly in "hot spots"; they no longer know why they are there: in Abkhazia, for example. By virtue of the military situation there, the emphasis in their service has shifted from protecting the border to defending themselves and public property. No one knows how long the uncertainty will last. There is still no hope of getting a quick answer from politicians....

ITAR-TASS Reviews 14 November Press

LD1411074492 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English*
0604 GMT 14 Nov 92

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 14 TASS—By ITAR-TASS: Developments in North Ossetia, connected with the inter-ethnic conflict over its borders with the Ingush Republic, are the main topic in today's Moscow-based newspapers.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries a heart-rending picture story headlined "The Dark Days of Highlanders" with photographs of raped and murdered women.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (independent newspaper) writes about the Russian president's decree "On the Media Coverage of Developments in the State-of-Emergency Area". It is stipulated that, in order to enter the state-of-emergency area, it is necessary for

journalists to receive accreditation at the provisional administration. The administration itself, pending the lifting of the state of emergency, has been allowed to temporarily arrest printed matter and withdraw sound-amplifying technical means and copiers on the territories of North Ossetia and Ingushetiya.

PRAVDA quotes President Dzhokhar Dudayev of Chechnya, on the borders of which the conflict is flaring up, as saying that "the provocative actions of Russian troops have been called forth by the military-industrial complex of Russia". Dudayev called on all Chechen citizens to "turn Russian troops out of the republic by force".

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reports that "physicians' apprehensions about the existence of a cholera virus in Ingushetiya has not been confirmed".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA runs a commentary connected with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk's decision to introduce Ukraine's own currency—the karbovanets. The newspaper believes that "the lesser the number of independent states remaining in the ruble area, the easier it will be for the government (headed by acting Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar) to carry on a stabilising monetary reform".

Kravchuk's decree was signed on November 7 but was made available to the republic's media only recently, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA notes.

Rumours about a change of government are another major topic in today's newspapers. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA quotes Deputy Premier Mikhail Poltoranin as saying that a change of government "is impossible at the present stage, for it will mean a change of the course of reforms".

According to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, "Gaydar does not keep up the talk about forthcoming adjustments in the government. As people close to him maintain, not only because he feels the president's backing but also because the present cabinet feels exceptionally united".

PRAVDA carries information that the Otchizna deputies' group in the Russian parliament came forward with a statement in defence of the servicemen in the Baltics. The statement points out in particular that the withdrawal of troops from there "is being carried out without appropriate conditions for it being prepared back in Russia itself" and that the issue should be put on the agenda of the Seventh Congress of the People's Deputies of the Russian Federation.

Kozyrev Notes Yeltsin, Clinton 'Close' Contact

OW1611120692 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1150 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [16 November], at the session of the Council on Foreign Policy in the Foreign Ministry, Andrey Kozyrev, the Russian Foreign Minister, declared that Russia's foreign policy "does not give priority to either pro-American or pro-European course." As he put it, "we are being pushed to a childish illness of anti-Americanism", but all these attempts will bring no results.

According to the Minister, Boris Yeltsin, the Russian President, has already established "a rather close contact" with Bill Clinton. The Russian leader, Kozyrev says, reported to the future American President that Moscow intended to build friendly relations with the USA and other western powers but would "resolutely defend its own interests—not by means of confrontation but by means of cooperation."

Kozyrev underlined that the present stage "demands a joint development and joint implementation of the strategy on the part of Russia and the West."

Speaking about the CIS, the minister advocated its transformation into "a regional international organization" in which "a multi-speed and multi-variant movement" would exist.

The Council's session examined an issue concerning the concept of the Foreign Ministry's foreign policy. Kozyrev pointed out that this draft document "is not acceptable for a practical policy; it suffers from schematics and is an attempt to give answers for all possible problems of life—an impossibility." According to the report of the minister and other members of the Council on Foreign Policy, at the forthcoming congress the deputies will propose to approve this draft (about 50 pages), not on the whole but only a 2-3-page resolution citing the main principles and directions of Russian foreign policy.

Kozyakov Comments on Proposed U.S. Arms Reductions

LD131121192 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 1910 GMT 13 Nov 92

[Commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov]

[Text] President-elect of the United States Bill Clinton has named further cutbacks of nuclear and other weapons among top priorities of the American foreign policy. He believes this must be done in conformity with the end of the Cold War brought about by the collapse of the Soviet Union, as well as the reforming of the Russian Army and the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty. Here is a commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov:

This trend in the policy of the United States for the next four years stems from the strategy announced even before the presidential election and based on the assumption that the international standing of a country is largely determined by the success of its domestic economy. Such an approach correlates with similar tendencies manifest in many countries. Significantly, the former adversaries, the United States and Russia, together with the rest of the Commonwealth of Independent States, emerging to replace the former Soviet Union, are now acting like partners, with Washington even lagging behind in the reduction of armed forces and armaments and their transfer within the national borders.

Of course, the process of dismantling the huge military machines created for decades has its own peculiarities in every single country and involves problems both material and ethical. But Russia and other CIS republics have been cutting their production of weapons at a faster speed than the United States. For instance, Russia has slashed its military expenditures by 70 percent recently. And as for the war industry, no other country in the world has had such a drop in the production of military equipment as Russia had in 1992. The Defense Ministry's orders for ammunition and hardware came down by 70 percent. Addressing a news conference in Moscow on Thursday, the First Deputy Defense Minister, Andrey Kokoshin, said we ordered, for example, only 20 tanks last year. We didn't order any self-propelled guns at all, and orders for new rockets can be counted in single digits.

Against the backdrop of such statements by the Russian military department, it's strange to hear the American Defense Secretary, Dick Cheney, say that the United States should be careful in harvesting the peace dividends, as well as his warnings that economic shambles and warring factions in the former Soviet republics can quickly destabilize the region. According to him, the next four years will be more challenging in foreign policy than the previous one. A question arises whether the Pentagon really regards local conflicts on ethnic grounds underway in the other hemisphere as a serious reason for restarting the arms race. No matter how alarming today's reports from the CIS member-countries may be, they cannot provide reason enough for holding up the reduction of nuclear and conventional weapons. Officials in Moscow hope this process will continue on the basis of fruitful interaction between Russia and the United States.

Bush Visit Canceled; START Treaty Not Ready

PM1311113392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Nov 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by Aleksandr Shalnev: "President Bush Will Not Come to Moscow"]

[Text] Washington—Without excessive fuss and almost without attracting any press attention, U.S. President

George Bush canceled what could have been one of the most major events of the end of his presidency—an official visit to Russia.

An understanding that this visit would take place before the end of the year was reached between Bush and President Boris Yeltsin during their June summit meeting in Washington. On arriving in Moscow, the plan was for Bush to sign a treaty on radically reducing strategic offensive weapons (START-2), which had basically been agreed at the same meeting in Washington. This fact alone would have given the visit historical significance, since the proposed cuts would have been historically unprecedented.

But now there is to be no visit, nor will there be a treaty—at least during Bush's Presidency. According to reports from informed sources, the clear understanding that START-2 will not be ready in the foreseeable future was one reason why the summit meeting in Moscow was abandoned. What, essentially, was the U.S. President to do in Moscow without a START treaty to sign? And then: G. Bush, a man who is proud to the point of snobbishness, seems unable to entertain the thought that on this trip he would have to play the role of President, while at the back of his mind there would always be the thought that Bill Clinton is the real, genuine, although not yet inaugurated, president.

According to available information, the issue of the trip was examined by Bush in a private discussion with General Brent Scowcroft, his national security adviser, immediately after the election, and it was precisely on the recommendation of Scowcroft, who, I think, simply articulated what Bush himself was thinking, that it was decided that there would be no visit.

On Tuesday well-informed sources confirmed that the visit would indeed not be taking place and no preparations are being made for it either in the State Department or in the White House, which, let me note, has switched to a slack and completely untypical work schedule—probably preparing itself for the appearance of new figures there.

Foreign Minister Kozyrev Continues Visit to France

Praises Talks With Mitterrand

*LD1311150892 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
1444 GMT 13 Nov 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Batyrev and Georgiy Shmelyev]

[Text] Paris November 13 TASS—"Talks with President Francois Mitterrand of France on Thursday night capped my visit to France, demonstrating that France is Russia's reliable partner and possibly an ally in the future," visiting Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told reporters on Friday.

The Franco-Russian alliance has great importance for Russia's democratic reforms and is crucial for ensuring stability in European and international politics, Kozyrev said.

He said that during the meeting with Mitterrand he confirmed Russian President Boris Yeltsin's invitation to the French president to pay an official visit to Russia.

The exact dates for the visit will be agreed through diplomatic channels later, however Moscow wants the visit to be held as early as possible, Kozyrev said.

He also said he had invited French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas to visit Russia.

Notes Constant, Firm Contacts With France

LD1311221992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya

Ostankino

Television First Program Network in Russian 1800

GMT 13 Nov 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, on an official visit to France, was received in the Elysee Palace by President Francois Mitterrand. At the end of their talks, Andrey Kozyrev remarked on the constant and firm contacts between the heads of both states and voiced satisfaction with the interest and understanding of the problems confronting Russia that the French president expressed during the meeting.

According to the Russian minister, the Elysee Palace firmly shares an understanding of the fact that Russian-French relations must be the basis of stability on the European continent.

[Kozyrev] Of course, President Mitterrand and our other interlocutors would like Russia—which they see exclusively as a great power, especially as a real partner—to join their class of states. They do not need an enormous Third World state here in Europe.

[Correspondent Yevgeniy Lukyanov, identified by caption] At today's news conference Andrey Kozyrev stressed that Paris sees the Russian reform government as a trustworthy, stable partner. The Franco-Russian alliance is of significant importance, not only at the level of the development of bilateral relations, but also as a balance of power in Europe and the whole world. The major task today, according to the minister, is for Russia and the West to develop long-term strategy to overcome the post-Communist period with the aim of including Eastern Europe in the community of democratic states with a market economy.

Meets With French Senate President

LD1311184992 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English*
1644 GMT 13 Nov 92

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondents Sergey Batyrev and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Paris November 13 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, on a three-day official visit to Paris, met French Senate President Rene Monory on Friday.

In an interview with *ITAR-TASS* Monory praised the talks as "frank and substantive", saying that Kozyrev told him about domestic difficulties facing the government of Boris Yeltsin.

In turn, Monory spoke about France's problems, European integration and increasing global economic competition. "It is clear that we should help Russia and East European countries more actively," he said.

Monory said he met Kozyrev at a momentous time, just after the Senate ratified a treaty between France and Russia.

The two countries have much in common and hopefully their relations will continue to improve, he said.

"I am optimistic about the future of Russian-French ties and we will do our most to promote their development," he said.

Interviewed on Results of Visit

LD1411221192 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English*
2108 GMT 14 Nov 92

[By *ITAR-TASS* special correspondents Sergey Batyrev and Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Paris November 14 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev left Paris for Moscow tonight after staying in France on a three-day official visit at the invitation of his French counterpart Roland Dumas.

Kozyrev told *ITAR-TASS* before his departure from Paris he is satisfied with the visit results, first of all, because the visit demonstrated a real possibility to establish special relations between Russia and France.

The forming Russian-French alliance is an element of stability and balance in Europe and not only there. One should think of the processes underway between Europe and the United States, the new conditions appearing in Europe itself.

One can even use the expression "Paris-Moscow axis", certainly, understanding it with the exclusively "plus sign". Russia realizes it is not a union directed against someone, but a basic element of modern international relations, a "bearing plate", and it is, in Kozyrev's opinion, very important for the "stability of the whole building."

The minister thinks the French side has similar feelings, judging by his meetings with French President Francois Mitterrand, Mr. Roland Dumas and representatives of the French parliament.

Today Europe recovers from the "frozen state" it was in the period of opposition between the two blocs to more natural forms of international relations, and it seems the historical traditions are beginning to play the increasing role, with the only difference current processes do not mean the beginning of formation of alliances of states opposing each other, which in the past meant preparations for a new war.

Today historical realities are acquiring new expression, but are not disappearing. That is why, the Russian-French relations - a "bearing construction" of the European policy - are, certainly, not an element of opposition and confrontation, but a way towards the development of partner relations with other states.

A vivid example to this is Kozyrev's telephone conversation with German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel to discuss the Russian-German relations.

Now the main thing is to consolidate the Russian-French relations, which are actively developing at the political level, in the economic sphere.

The Russian-French Economic Inter-Governmental Commission will begin working in Moscow on Monday. The meeting will be attended by French Minister of the Economy and Finances Michel Sapin.

In any case, the Russian leadership, certainly, gives political "green light" to comprehensive development of relations with France, said the Russian foreign minister.

Yeltsin Discusses Relations With South Korea

SK1511031292 Seoul *KYONGHYANG SINMUN*
in Korean 15 Nov 92 p 3

[Interview with President Boris Yeltsin by unidentified ROK correspondents at the Kremlin in Moscow on 14 November prior to his scheduled 18-20 November visit to the ROK—compiled by Moscow-based correspondent Hong Song-kyun]

[Text] [Correspondent] Eleven months have passed since the CIS was launched. Will the CIS continue to exist? How will Russia continue to implement democracy? How will the political situation in Russia develop?

[Yeltsin] I cannot say that the Russian domestic situation is stable, but I think the most difficult time has passed. The economy is moving to find a stable track. The CIS states will hold summit talks in Minsk on its first anniversary, 4 December. The CIS has developed its cooperative system by taking preparatory steps for the first three months, having the former Soviet republics becoming members of the CIS and discussing the

infringement on the sovereignty of CIS states for the next three months, and cooperating in military fields for the next three months.

All the states are not actively participating in the CIS, but those that participate will help the CIS develop continuously with cooperative ties with one another.

[Correspondent] The Northeast Asian situation has been changing rapidly, as seen in the establishment of diplomatic relations between the ROK and China. What is the significance of your visit to the ROK?

[Yeltsin] I think the normalization of diplomatic relations between the ROK and China is a positive development, and Russia welcomes it. The ROK and China are important countries in the Asia-Pacific region, and their roles should never be overlooked. I will visit the ROK 18-20 November and go to China about one month after that.

[Correspondent] When you met ROK Foreign Minister Yi Sang-ok some time ago, you said Russia's ideological ties with North Korea had ended. What are the prospects for Russia-North Korea relations?

[Yeltsin] I cannot say we have severed our relations with North Korea, nor do we intend to sever our relations with North Korea. Our guiding principle is that Russia will continue its relations with all countries independent of ideology. Of course, we have suspended supplying offensive weapons and economic assistance to North Korea. As for the nuclear issue, we are no longer assisting North Korea with nuclear facilities. I think our trade with North Korea will continue on the basis of equality.

[Correspondent] Do you have any plan to promote your relations with the ROK, such as the signing of a military alliance treaty (an alliance of good-will and friendship) between Russia and the ROK?

[Yeltsin] The most important issue during my visit to the ROK will be the signing of a basic treaty between the ROK and Russia. The draft has been signed provisionally, and I expect the treaty will be signed during the summit talks. Although the draft of the treaty does not mention military matters, I expect that I will fully discuss these matters as well in my talks with President No Tae-u.

[Correspondent] The Korean people think that information they received on the downing of the Korean Airlines plane, which was previously handed over by Russia, is insufficient. Are you ready to make public any additional information and the black box itself? Are you also willing to make public any information on the Korean war?

[Yeltsin] Let me, as Russian president, offer my regrets over the Korean Airlines case. I want to express my deep sympathy to the victims' families. If the ROK finds the information insufficient, we will hand over any information we have. I already made this clear in my personal letter to President No. I think we should turn over the

black box to the International Civil Aviation Organization and let that organization examine it, mainly because all the countries involved, including Japan and Canada, also want this information. We have nothing to hide. Regarding the Korean war, we will hand over any information as soon as it is discovered. Information on the 1968 Czechoslovak and 1956 Hungarian incidents has already been discovered and handed over.

[Correspondent] Will you please tell us about any prospects for ROK-Russian economic cooperation during your visit to the ROK, in particular the Yakutsk gas development and other large-scale projects?

[Yeltsin] We have already told the ROK about our plan to develop the Yakutsk gas field and to run pipelines from Russia to South Korea via North Korea. We will sign agreements on several projects, including the construction of a large-scale ROK industrial complex in the Nakhodka area. I hope these plans will be examined and implemented an early date.

Suggests ICAO Examine 'Black Box'

SK1511011292 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES
in English 15 Nov 92 p 1

[By staff correspondent Yi Chang-hun]

[Text] MOSCOW—Cooperation between Russia and South Korea in political, economic and all other fields is critical to the pursuit of peace not only in the Asia-Pacific region but in the world, Russian President Boris Yeltsin said.

He told Korean reporters in an interview at the Kremlin Saturday that he and South Korean President No Tae-u will sign a treaty on fundamentals of relations during this week's summit meeting in Seoul.

Yeltsin expressed deepest regret in the name of Russia and himself for the downing of the civilian Korean Air Flight 007 over Sakhalin in 1982 and said his government was willing to transfer the black box itself should related evidence recently delivered to the South Korean government be insufficient.

However, he went on to say, it may be more appropriate for Russia to deliver the black box to the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) for an international investigation.

"My government is also considering presenting materials related to the outbreak of the Korean War on June 25, 1950 as soon as they are found," he told South Korean correspondents.

On bilateral cooperation in the field of defense, Yeltsin said he would look forward to discussing various possibilities even though it is not included in the agreement to be signed during his Seoul visit.

Yeltsin made particular emphasis on the fact that North Korea is not an exception to the rule in Russia's foreign policy since it is to be free of specific ideologies.

He said, "North Korea's rejection of even neutral inspections on its nuclear facilities is of global concern and Russia will no longer be its source for sophisticated weapons until the situation is remedied."

Interest Payments To Unblock ROK Credits

*LD1311235692 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service
in Russian 0640 GMT 13 Nov 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Zakharchenko]

[Text] Seoul, 13 Nov—Russia will partially pay the interest owed on South Korean credits by the time President Boris Yeltsin visits the Republic of Korea next week. This was stated here today by Viktor Shilin, deputy foreign economic relations minister. He heads a delegation that has been here on an eight-day visit to hold talks on unblocking the credits promised and partially granted by Seoul to the former USSR before its collapse.

The deadline for the payment of credit interest was in May this year. Russia, however, was not in a position to settle its debts because of its strained balance of payments and a number of other reasons. In this connection, South Korea proposed the payment of interest owed as a condition for the "unfreezing" of the remainder of the commodity credit for 1991, a sum of \$800 million, as well as the Russian share of commodity and investment credits for \$900 million for 1992 and 1993.

In a conversation with an ITAR-TASS correspondent before his departure for Moscow, Viktor Shilin noted that according to the accords reached this time in Seoul, before the beginning of Boris Yeltsin's visit to the South Korean capital, defaulted interest amounting to \$12.9 million on a 1991 commodity credit will be paid. Regarding the payment of interest on last year's financial credit, Russia will pay its debt on these funds granted by aluminum deliveries to the sum of \$37.7 million. Their deadlines will be discussed later. Viktor Shilin stated that by the time of Boris Yeltsin's visit to Seoul, the issues obstructing the unfreezing of South Korean credits will be resolved.

ROK Ambassador Comments on Unresolved Issues

*LD1411185592 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in
Russian
1430 GMT 14 Nov 92*

[Interview with ROK Ambassador Hong Sun-yong by Aleksandr Levchenko; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Levchenko] Despite our countries' great desire for cooperation, there are still a

number of problems that have not been completely settled; for example, the tragic incident involving the South Korean Boeing airliner. Will this question be raised during the meetings between President Yeltsin and the South Korean leaders?

[Hong, in English, with superimposed Russian translation] Among the problems that still need to be discussed are the tragic incident involving our airliner, the USSR's support for North Korea during the war of 1950-53 and, if one is to be frank about everything, the repressions of Stalin's regime against ethnic Koreans. Naturally, all of these issues will be covered. I do not think, however, that the tragedies of the past will hinder mutual understanding today. I think that a new chapter will be opened in the history of our relations. [passage omitted]

Ministry Official on Relations With Koreans

*LD1311183292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
1501 GMT 13 Nov 92*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Oleg Polovko]

[Text] Moscow November 13 TASS—During the upcoming Seoul visit of Russian President Boris Yeltsin on November 18-20, the Russian side intends to "open in the person of the Republic of Korea a new friendly partner in Asia and give a considerable impetus to the Russian-South Korean cooperation in all areas", head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Korea Department Georgiy Toloraya told ITAR-TASS today.

While doing this, the Russian Federation does not intend to curtail its relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

During the visit it is planned to sign a treaty on fundamentals of relations between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Korea, agreements on cultural cooperation and cooperation on customs issues, a convention on avoiding double taxation and a number of documents on trade and economic issues, said the diplomat.

Certainly, the first official Seoul visit of the Russian leader is aimed, first of all, to contribute to the development of political relations between the two countries. The most significant moment here will be the signing of an inter-state treaty on fundamentals of relations to juridically establish and contribute to the development of relations between the two states.

The draft document has been prepared in full correspondence with the United Nations Charter and the international legal acts, said Toloraya. The major document provisions say the Russian Federation and the Republic of Korea act as regards each other as friendly states and will carry out friendly relations.

The draft treaty provides for holding regular consultations between the two countries' political leaders and developing contacts between the parliaments, citizens of

Russia and South Korea. In addition, the draft treaty establishes major parameters of bilateral cooperation in the political, economic, scientific, technical and cultural areas.

The document also carries a significant element the treaty cannot be used by the sides to the prejudice of a third state, thus, stressing the fact Russia does not intend to curtail relations with, for instance, North Korea, while developing contacts with South Korea.

Russia and South Korea have a considerable potential for broad trade and economic cooperation, said the diplomat. However, the potential has not been fully used. Alarmed with the internal political situation in Russia and the absence of a full-scale normative-legal basis for the development of economic cooperation, South Korean businessmen are not in a hurry to come to the tempting but disturbing Russian market.

A major aim of the visit is to give an impetus to the cooperation in this sphere and encourage South Korean business for boosting relations with the Russian partners, he noted. Both sides hope for a considerable progress in this direction, as the documents prepared for signing are expected to contribute to this.

In addition, in the words of Toloraya, there are all grounds to believe prerequisites for the solution of a major problem of bilateral relations - the release of credits granted to the former Soviet Union and frozen after its disintegration - will soon be created.

Rail Traffic 'Bogged Down' at DPRK Border

LD1411001192 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0610 GMT 13 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Nadashkevich]

[Text] Pyongyang, 13 Nov—Railroad cars carrying coal, oil, timber, fertilizers and other goods important for the DPRK's national economy are becoming bogged down on Russia's Far Eastern Railway at the border with the DPRK. As of 1 November, 2,039 cars were standing idle there, awaiting their turn to move on. The North Korean station of (Tumangan) passes only 122 cars every 24 hours. The length of time for the Russian cars to be accepted by the Korean side is growing, as is the Korean side's debt for using them on its territory. The length of time it takes to unload cars at the (Tumangan) station is steadily increasing: It now takes 16 days.

The Russian side, which has repeatedly and fruitlessly asked DPRK railroad authorities to streamline their services, regards the situation as "critical" and notes that the effectiveness of the whole economic cooperation program between the two countries is being seriously undermined. "I cannot see any objective explanations for the situation that has developed—other than a gross lack of organization. And at the same time, I find it impossible to make claims against the Russian side,"

Eduard Lenbo, who represents the Russian railway interests here, said in a conversation with an ITAR-TASS correspondent. He also noted that Russian railways are now obliged to restrict their dispatches to the DPRK.

The flow of freight to North Korea has grown considerably since September, trade ties on a contract basis have increased, and transit rail traffic to North Korea's eastern port of (Rachzhin) is growing. Under these conditions, the railroad crossing between the Russian station of Khasan and North Korea's (Tumangan)—the only freight line linking the two countries—is not accomplishing its task.

Both sides are losing. The Korean side cites the inadequacy of its rolling stock, shortages of diesel fuel and diesel oil, and even the inability to transfer from the wide Russian gauge to the narrower Korean one, the inability to handle certain kinds of freight, the shortage of electrical power to handle freight at (Tumangan) during the night, and so on.

Foreign Ministry 'Extremely Alarmed' Over Macedonia

LD1311150792 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1424 GMT 13 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Moscow November 13 TASS—The Russian Foreign Ministry is extremely alarmed over the dramatic events in the Macedonian capital of Skopje on November 6-7, 1992, an official Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman said here today.

The clash that resulted in the loss of life brings a new complicating element in the already dangerous situation in the region. The remaining uncertainty as regards the international status of Macedonia, the only republic of former Yugoslavia that achieved independence without a war, does not contribute to the easing of tension.

Under these conditions, a decision on broad international recognition of Macedonia is growing acute.

In the opinion of Russian diplomacy, the process of Macedonia's admission to the United Nations Organization and the CSCE should be started, the more so there are no weighty reasons for further ignoring corresponding appeals of the Macedonian Government.

The Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman also said they consider it extremely important to render economic and humanitarian assistance to Macedonia right now as it appeared to be in a difficult situation. He believes these steps could prevent the creation of a new crisis spot in the Balkans.

Foreign Ministry Urges Settlement of Tajikistan Conflict

OW1311165292 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1441 GMT 13 Nov 92

[From "Diplomatic Panorama" prepared by correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, and Igor Porshnev—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to DP [Diplomatic Panorama] sources, the Russian Foreign Ministry has urged the Russian parliament to take additional measures to settle the conflict in Tajikistan. It believes, for instance, that delegations and individual deputies should be sent to that republic for a peace-keeping and humanitarian mission.

The Russian Foreign Ministry also urged the parliament to hold a special discussion of Russia's foreign policy in Central Asia and of the Russian troops' role in the CIS peace-keeping efforts.

Diplomats believe that the parliament should invite a delegation of ethnic Russians living in Tajikistan and give them a chance to speak in parliament.

Government To Assume Ukraine's Foreign Debt

LD1311145492 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
1435 GMT 13 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Genadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow November 13 TASS—A protocol on Ukraine's passing over of functions on management of the foreign debt of the former Soviet Union to Russia has been prepared for signing, but not signed by the two countries' government heads today, since the Ukrainian premier had first to consult Parliament Chairman Ivan Plyushch.

"Plyushch is currently on a foreign trip, as far as I know," Russian Cabinet Vice-Premier Aleksander Shokhin told ITAR-TASS.

In his words, the protocol signing was postponed till November 16-17. On one of these days either Shokhin will go to Kiev or the Ukrainian vice-premier will arrive in Moscow to sign the protocol.

The protocol is an interim step on the way towards signing an agreement on Ukraine's passing over of all rights to the Ukrainian part of the foreign debt and assets of the former Soviet Union to Russia - the so-called null variant agreement.

As soon as the documents are signed, the major obstacles for the Paris creditors' club will be removed to adopt a decision on restructuring the foreign debt of the former Soviet Union. Russia has either concluded agreements on the null variant with the overwhelming majority of

the former Soviet republics, or signed protocols on passing over functions on the foreign debt management.

Conflict in Caucasus 'in Russia's Interests'

MK1311152092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA
in Russian 13 Nov 92 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Will 'Zviadists' and Chechen Parliamentarians Mediate in Settling Abkhazian Conflict? Leader of Confederation of Peoples of Caucasus Thinks War in Abkhazia Is in Russia's Interests"]

[Text] Late last week details linked to the trip to Grozny and Gudauta by Colonel Loti Kobaliya, leader of the armed detachments belonging to Zviad Gamsakhurdia's supporters, aroused public attention in Georgia and Abkhazia.

Loti Kobaliya and a number of members of the "Chkhondideli" all-Georgian national movement (this movement unites representatives of those organizations that supported Zviad Gamsakhurdia, including Georgia's Helsinki Union) were in Grozny 2-4 November. Among those who went to Grozny were Abkhazian Supreme Soviet Deputy Dzhemali Gamakhariya and Valeriy Gabeliya, leader of "Chkhondideli" and former prefect of one of Georgia's rayons. On their return to Sukhumi on Sunday, your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent managed to speak with Dzhemali Gamakhariya. He said that members of the delegation met in Grozny with Zviad Gamsakhurdia, who described the war in Abkhazia as anti-Caucasian and provocative. Members of the "Chkhondideli" council and Kobaliya met with Dzhokhar Dudayev in Grozny. Dudayev spoke, in principle, in favor of territorial integrity for the Republic of Georgia, which in his view is in the national interests of the Republic of Chechnya. According to Gamakhariya, Dudayev said during the meeting in Grozny that "a common Caucasian home is inconceivable without Georgia" and expressed readiness to come to Sukhumi and act as an intermediary in settling the Abkhazian-Georgian conflict.

Members of the "Chkhondideli" delegation and Kobaliya met in Grozny with Soslambekov, chairman of the parliament of the Confederation of Peoples of the Caucasus [CPC]. He said that "the war in Abkhazia is clearly in Russia's interests" and "Russia must not act as an intermediary in settling the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict." Three Chechen parliamentary deputies—Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev, Saidkhasan Abumuslimov, and Mate Tsikhesashvili—came to Sukhumi 4 November together with members of "Chkhondideli" and Kobaliya. All members of the delegation flew to Gudauta 5 November. Colonel Avtandil Ioseliani, leader of Abkhazia's security service, went with them. On their return from Abkhazia, Gamakhariya said that they spoke with representatives of the Abkhazian leadership: Konstantin Ozgan, Sergey Shamba, Aleksandr Ankvab, among others. Both sides expressed the opinion that the conflict in Abkhazia should be resolved by political

means and that joint Abkhazian-Georgian formations should guard the border at the Psou River as well as communications in Abkhazia. They said that people who had not fought in Abkhazia, in particular, soldiers from Kobaliya's detachments, should take part in the peace-keeping forces. The idea was voiced at the meeting that, in the event of a cease-fire in Abkhazia, units of the Georgian Armed Forces should be moved from Abkhazia to their permanent bases. CPC troops must also be withdrawn from Abkhazia. It is hard to tell how acceptable this is to the Georgian leadership. Gamakhariya also said that there are two contrary opinions prevalent among the Abkhazian military: Some are in favor of prosecuting a war to victory, while others are in favor of a political solution to the conflict. Kobaliya went with members of "Chkhondideli" to Gagra 6 November where they met with representatives of those members of the Georgian population of Gagra who have remained in the city. According to Gamakhariya, it emerged from the trip that there were instances of terrorism there in October against the Georgian population after the city was captured by Abkhazian and North Caucasian formations. At the same time some cases mentioned previously have not been confirmed. He said that many Georgian citizens' homes in Gagra have been burned down. But there are many cases of Georgians in Gagra receiving help from their Abkhazian neighbors.

In Sukhumi 7 November, Kobaliya and his comrades in arms had a conversation with Georgiy Khaindrava, minister of state for Abkhazian affairs. The discussion took place in a confidential atmosphere. A trip to Gudauta 8 November was canceled since Kobaliya said that there was no point in going there before Vladislav Ardzinba returns; the latter was, according to some reports, in Moscow late last week.

Political circles in Sukhumi and Georgia by and large have disparate opinions of Kobaliya's trip to Grozny and Gudauta with his comrades in arms. Some people think that all this may have a positive effect on the process of settling the conflict in Abkhazia, while others believe that there is no need for mediation from Kobaliya, Dudayev, and Gamsakhurdia. Others still claim that Gamsakhurdia's supporters may exploit their participation in the peacekeeping forces to try to restore Gamsakhurdia's authority at a time when the Abkhazian leadership is using these meetings and talks to play for time, while at the same time building up its forces for new offensives. But there are also those who believe that Kobaliya's comrades in arms sincerely want an end to the war in Abkhazia, but are deluded and trust Abkhazia's leaders too much.

New Israeli Envoy Notes Importance of Ties

*LD1311121892 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
1835 GMT 12 Nov 92*

[Text] Moscow November 12 ITAR-TASS—"Russia takes a very important place in Israel's politics," new

Israeli ambassador to Russia Hayim Bar-Lev said upon his arrival in Moscow today.

According to the newspaper *VECHERNYA MOSKVA*, the ambassador recalled that Russia acts as a co-chairman of the Middle East peace talks, he said Israel was "developing ever more dynamic economic relations. Finally, many Jews live here and are repatriated to Israel".

Hayim Bar-Lev said he was eager to meet Russian leaders, first of all President Boris Yeltsin and Vice-President Aleksander Rutskoy who was recently warmly welcomed in Israel. He also said he would like to visit other cities of Russia and its neighboring new independent states.

Egyptian Parliamentary Delegation Arrives

*LD1511231092 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in
Russian 2100 GMT 15 Nov 92*

[Text] Fathi Surur, speaker of Egypt's National Assembly, has arrived for a visit to Russia at the head of a parliamentary delegation. Before his departure the speaker of the Egyptian parliament stressed the stability of relations between the two countries which, according to him, is seen in the agreement on trade, economic, and scientific and technological cooperation signed in May.

In the course of the week-long visit of the Egyptian parliamentary delegation, Fathi Surur will deliver a personal message from President Husni Mubarak to Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Kurds Demonstrate Against Arms Shipments to Turkey

*MK1611093992 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA
in Russian 14 Nov 92 p 1*

[A.V. report under the "In Brief" rubric: "Kurds' Demonstration in Moscow"]

[Text] At midday on 13 November a group of 60 to 80 people demonstrated outside the Foreign Ministry in Moscow against the planned arms shipments from Russia to Turkey. According to the demonstrators, the treaty that Petr Aven, minister of foreign economic relations, recently signed with Turkey is directed against the Kurds, because the arms that Turkey acquires from Russia—helicopters, assault rifles, and optics—can quite easily be used effectively in the fight against the Kurdish guerrillas. Germany, which also supplies Turkey with arms, has banned their use against the Kurds. The demonstrators claim that there are no such restrictions in the Russian-Turkish treaty.

Article Comments on Yeltsin's Speech to UK Parliament

*PM1311160192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Nov 92 p 1*

[Article by Viktor Linnik: "Yeltsin Shows Russia His Fist. From Across the English Channel for Now"]

[Text] I think that no one who saw the Russian president's speech on television to the British Parliament could mistake the audience to which it was addressed. It was aimed not so much at the West as at the people of Russia.

Most of the British press discerned this immediately, stating that the speech was addressed not so much to British legislators as to the Russian government's political opponents.

For this reason it contained an unambiguous threat to all those who are dissatisfied with the disastrous state of affairs in our country and who do not agree with the central thesis of the current regime. And this thesis, as we know, is that the destruction of Russia now under way is the greatest boon in the history of world civilization.

Yeltsin stated before going abroad that he was leaving no one in his place (evidently there is now simply no one who can run Russia as well as he). This time he kept his word: It is quite possible to consider the speech in Westminster as a declaration of the probable introduction of a state of emergency in Russia. It is the Russian president showing Russia his fist, if you like, from across the English Channel.

The aggressiveness of the president's tone and words, and of his very posture, are fully in line with this reading. Yeltsin held himself impressively, and sustained all his pauses in the expectation of applause (which finally materialized).

Stylistically, the speech was extremely professional, having been written, it would appear, by the same people who composed his speech to the U.S. Congress last summer. For this reason, it was also conceptually reminiscent of that speech: Angry denunciations of the system that "warped and tortured our poor country for decades," a system whose essence was "lies and violence, a hypocritical and aggressive policy toward other countries, and spiritual and physical terror against its own people."

You cannot shake the feeling of terrible awkwardness every time you hear this sort of thing from the mouth of a man whose contribution to the genesis of, in his words, "the bloodiest and most ruthless regime in Russia's centuries-long history," immeasurably exceeds the contribution of tens of millions of Russian citizens, including members of the banned CPSU. Well, judge for yourselves: Yeltsin headed the Sverdlovsk party organization for many years, built the highest oblast committee building in the USSR, and for just under a quarter of a century called for the steadfast victory of socialism in the

Land of the Soviets, quoting Lenin and Brezhnev left, right, and center in his speeches. Undoubtedly, under him dissidents and simply doubters of any kind were expelled from the party, and Ipatyev House in Sverdlovsk was blown up, the house where the czar's family—relatives of the present queen of Great Britain, whom Yeltsin has invited to visit Russia—was shot.

In short, the curses against the system might have been appropriate for a Martian, but not from the lips of a man who made a dizzying career within this system in scaling "criminal heights." This is not the first time that this moral blindness and atrophy of the elementary feeling of shame has been noticeable in the current Russian president. At whom are these metamorphoses aimed, by one who is "no longer a boy, but a man"?

There are, after all, elementary norms of decency for a statesman, to which the civilized world steadfastly adheres. The unwritten code of honor proclaims that it is wrong to abuse your own country while on visits abroad, no matter what grievous mistakes it may have committed in its history. I do not think that Peter the Great, speaking here in Westminster almost 300 years before Yeltsin, denounced the manners and morals of the era of Ivan the Terrible. This did not figure in his understanding of Russian honor and dignity.

And how should one evaluate the words, uttered later by Yeltsin at a news conference, about the correctness of Britain's postwar policy of keeping the "Communist Soviet Union in political quarantine"? After all, it was not the Communist elite to which Yeltsin himself belonged for many years who suffered from this quarantine. First and foremost, it was ordinary Russian citizens who were its victims, the same Russians whose welfare and freedom the president is so touchingly concerned about today! From just what theater of shadows do these presidential monologues come?

Of course, it is possible to read long sermons about the moral side of Yeltsin's speech. But these are not moral times in Russia, but strictly rational times, and thus the speech should be regarded from this perspective as well.

In his speech to Parliament, Yeltsin was sounding out the West's possible reaction to the introduction of a state of emergency. Perhaps this is the main thrust of his speech to the British legislators. The more the "revanchist forces" of opponents of reforms in Russia are portrayed as "second-raters," the sooner the West will swallow the attack on our country's brittle democracy being planned by the ideologists of the new regime.

For the rest, the results of the visit are amazingly modest. The whole series of agreements signed between Russia and Britain, THE NEW YORK TIMES notes, "mostly have a symbolic rather than a practical significance."

Even Yeltsin himself, it would appear, has abandoned all hopes that the Western financial locomotive will be coupled to Russia's expiring—as THE DAILY TELEGRAPH observes—reforms. Quite apart from that, the

BBC reports, even Yeltsin's calculation on Britain's support for Russia's request for its debt of 80 billion [currency not specified] to be rescheduled was not justified.

So, the pluses are a bit thin in reality—apart from, perhaps, the impressive broadside against Communism and the opposition. So far, thank God, only a verbal broadside....

New Committee To Promote Trade With Britain

*PM1311164092 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI
in Russian 13 Nov 92 p 3*

[Report by Valeriy Andrianov: "Contracts Despite Napoleon—Russian-British Committee for Trade and Investment Founded"]

[Text] Not many people know that one of the main reasons for the invasion of Russia by Napoleon's troops was the czarist government's violation of the continental blockade of England. Even under threat of war, our country refused to sever trade relations with its long-standing partner. But even though economic links between Russia and Britain have a long and rich history, these relations in recent years have not been notable for their breadth and diversity.

In a bid to overcome this tendency, an Intergovernmental Russian-British Committee for Trade and Investments has been founded by agreement of the two countries' governments. As the Russian Federation Government Press Center reported, the committee's main task is to create all the necessary conditions for investments and to broaden economic cooperation between the two countries.

British businessmen are ready to invest money in the Russian economy. But the unstable economic and political situation in our country and the flaws of Russian legislation prohibit them from doing so. Therefore, the British Government made a decision to offer state guarantees to commercial banks wanting to allocate credits to Russia. We undertook to provide British investors with counter guarantees. CIS republics will be afforded credit worth 280 million pounds sterling. It is not yet known what rate of interest Russia will be charged. The funds being allocated will finance specific projects, to be defined by the creditors themselves. As L. Korolev, leading expert on Britain from the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations Administration for Cooperation with European Countries, the United States, and Canada, announced, British banks have already made a list, including 400 former USSR enterprises which could become credit targets. For now, five basic projects have been selected: the reconstruction of the Novourenгой gas complex with the aim of producing polyethylene; the creation of an air-traffic control system; the extension of "Komstar," Moscow's telephone network; and the replacement of compressor turbines on gas pipelines. The British side is showing particular interest in the

reconstruction of Domodedovo Airport, which may become the gateway from Europe to Asia in the very near future.

Priority will be given to projects in the the food industry, fuel and power, and medicines areas.

Britain is the first country to set up an intergovernmental committee for trade and investments with Russia. This is indicative of the great significance our countries attach to the development of bilateral economic cooperation. Even Napoleon could not sever it.

State Customs Official on Chancellor Kohl's Visit

*LD1311192292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
1601 GMT 13 Nov 92*

[By CRIME PRESS-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Maslova]

[Text] Moscow November 13 TASS—"We expect an entire package of agreements to be signed during the forthcoming visit to Russia of a German governmental delegation led by Chancellor Helmut Kohl from December 15-16. These agreements will considerably strengthen collaboration between customs officials of the two countries", Russian State Customs Committee official Vladimir Meshcheryakov told ITAR-TASS today.

"We expect four agreements to be signed. The most important among them is undoubtedly an agreement on cooperation between the customs services of two country. The document to be signed at the intergovernmental level is meant to lay the legal foundation for cooperation and create preconditions for deepening interaction. Germany is Russia's biggest trading partner but the two countries have not yet signed an agreement on collaboration between their customs services. The situation must be set straight," Meshcheryakov said.

Other agreements that are likely to signed during the December visit are an accord on cooperation in combating contraband of fissionable materials and drug trafficking. The German side is particularly interested in these agreements as it is worried by the growing number of such offences in which Russian expats are involved.

As concerns the Russian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, "we would like to sign an agreement on cooperation in training customs employees," Meshcheryakov said.

Moscow To Reduce Diplomatic Personnel in Africa

*OW1311213392 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1441 GMT 13 Nov 92*

[From "Diplomatic Panorama" prepared by correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboinikov, and Igor Porshnev—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Out of Russia's 47 foreign missions in Africa, the ones in Burkina-Faso, Equatorial Guinea, Lesotho, Liberia, Niger, Sao-Tome and Principe, Togo and Sierra Leone have been closed down. And so have the consulates in Niger, Mozambique, Angola, Madagascar and Congo, First Deputy-Head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's African Department Aleksandr Smirnov, told DP [Diplomatic Panorama]. In 1993 more of Russia's missions in African states are expected to be closed down.

Smirnov said that the authorities of some of the African states are reacting unfavourably on Russia's withdrawal from Africa. Some even view it as discrimination against them, although the closure of the Russian missions is explained by purely financial and economic reasons.

Russia's economic relations with Africa are considerably influenced by the problem of the debt, whose size is difficult to evaluate, said Smirnov. There are various ways of tackling this problem: repayment in hard-currency, supplies of traditional African exports to Russia, re-investment of the debts in joint ventures, or their selling to third countries.

Speaking about military cooperation with Africa, Smirnov noted that arms remain a major aspect of the Russian exports. He also said that the number of countries importing Russian weapons and military equipment may increase. However, modern offensive weapons will be crossed out from the list of exported armaments. Moreover, weapons will not be supplied to hotbeds of tension.

Search Continues for 3 Nationals in Angola

LD1511072392 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
0652 GMT 15 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Korzun]

[Text] Luanda November 15 TASS—The Russian Embassy in Angola continues an active search for three compatriots who were reported missing after the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] military seized the Kapanda hydropower station in Malanje Province.

When UNITA took the facility on November 4, there were 55 specialists from Russia and other CIS countries in the builders' township. Fifty-two people have already been evacuated to Luanda and an overwhelming majority of them have been sent home.

The search for the last three missing specialists, with one woman among them, is being directed by a senior official of the Russian Embassy. An active assistance is being rendered by the U.N. personnel, whose communications channels are used to receive confirmations about search operations from UNITA representatives at the local level.

On Friday a helicopter with a search party on board flew to the town of Dondo which is located on a possible route leading from Kapanda to the Angolan capital.

The entire area around the hydropower stations was once again thoroughly surveyed from the air, on November 14 to no avail.

UNITA representatives state that they know nothing about the fate of the three missing specialists. No information has come so far from local residents who have been addressed in a special message broadcast over the Angolan radio in two languages—Portuguese and Kimbundu.

ANC Representative Comments on Relations

MB1311155892 Moscow Radio Moscow in Afrikaans
1700 GMT 12 Nov 92

[Report on interview with Themba Thabede, head of the African National Congress mission in Moscow, by Yevgeniy Varadkov; place, date not given—questions read by announcer; Thabede answers in English fading into Afrikaans translation]

[Text] The African National Congress' fight against apartheid has undoubtedly played a significant role in South Africa's pursuance of change. In tonight's program, you can listen to a recent interview with the head of the ANC's permanent mission in Moscow, Mr. Themba Thabede, by our correspondent Yevgeniy Varadkov.

The world community has virtually always given support to the ANC's struggle against apartheid. What degree of international support does this organization possess presently?

[Begin Thabede recording] Our relations with the anti-apartheid organizations have improved considerably since the lifting of the ban on the ANC. For instance, even business institutions consult the ANC on issues relating to further development of the South African economy and investments policies. Business circles stay in constant contact with the South African Government, but they virtually always consult the ANC on business and investments in this country. I can, therefore, say that lately we have become even stronger in the eyes of the international community, even though the government has opened embassies in several countries, including eastern Europe.

As regards the anti-apartheid movement in other countries, the support for our struggle remains strong. People clearly understand that Mr. Mandela's release and that of his comrades is not the completion of our struggle to have human rights recognized. They see that apartheid is still in place, that the constitution of 1983 is still valid, irrespective of talks on democracy and talk that apartheid's book has been closed for good.

Yes, the Population Registration Act of 1950 has been lifted, but the legislation is still there. We still have the three-chamber Parliament in which only Whites, Coloreds, and Indians are represented, and the strangest and most interesting thing is that the white chamber is the biggest and the most influential. Apartheid is, therefore, still in place. For that reason, in a joint effort with other African nations, including the so-called Frontline States, we are doing our level best to bring an end to apartheid.

We have excellent relations with these countries. ANC representatives often receive invitations to negotiations at the highest level. Occasional mutual deliberations are held on the problems of Africa and southern Africa. In other words, our ties have become stronger, and I think they will develop even further. [end recording]

Our next question to him was: What can you say about the ANC's relations with community and government structures here in Moscow?

[Begin Thabede recording] Our relations with Russia and the other republics which formed the former Soviet Union started many decades ago, during the twenties. These were very genuine ties which took many years to develop. Today we maintain excellent ties with both the Russian Parliament and the Foreign Affairs Ministry. Our old, firm ties with the Solidarity Committee and the Committee for the Protection of Peace are also still continuing. [end recording]

We then asked Mr. Thabede: Is the ANC presently receiving any aid from Russia?

[Begin Thabede recording] The ANC does not receive any material support from Russia at present. We are an organization which gets funded exclusively from its own resources. All that we receive from Russia—and we are very grateful for it—is moral support from Russia for our struggle. [end recording]

Our next question was: How big and influential is the circle of people in Russia who support the ANC?

[Begin Thabede recording] I think that there are a lot of people and a lot of forces who support our struggle. It does not seem that there are people in your country who have the tendency to be ill-disposed toward the ANC. There are, of course, one or two journalists who try to discredit the name of the ANC. We do not think they will succeed in destroying the ANC's image. The organization has been around since 1912 and has survived so many problems and disasters, that no criticism can do us any harm at this stage. [end recording]

A final question: Why has Nelson Mandela's visit to Russia been repeatedly postponed? Is the ANC still envisaging such a visit, and if so, what are its objectives?

[Begin Thabede recording] Well, the plans for our president to visit Russia are still on. We hope that the visit will take place during the coming year. Events both in our country and here do not allow us at this point to say anything concrete about the date. But we hope that the

situation in our countries will permit us to arrange the visit in a suitable manner. Both in the ANC and Russian official circles, the issue is receiving attention. Mr. Mandela will come here on a mission of gratitude to the country's people for the enormous contribution which they have rendered to the destruction of apartheid in southern Africa, also to give personal thanks for your participation in the campaign for its liberation and the liberation of its partners in the struggle. [end recording]

Article on Foreign Policy's Impact at Home

PM131:142792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 12 Nov 92 First Edition p 7

[Article by diplomatic observer Dmitriy Kosyrev under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "Ten Vietnam Syndromes—That Is Too Many"]

[Excerpts] The "ordinary" voter does not have to try to understand the subtleties of the Foreign Ministry's work. But he must be confident that Russia's foreign policy is protecting his interests.

Who would have thought that the style of Russian diplomacy would become a major factor in domestic policy? However, the alarm bells are ringing more and more: "Russia is conceding its positions," "Russia is being insulted by all and sundry," and so forth.

It cannot be denied that someone who has believed all his life that there are enemies everywhere lacks a familiar trench ready for all-round defense. It would have been easier to attribute all the "red and brown" tendencies to the vulgarity and illiteracy of a small handful of oppositionists. But I am afraid that it is far more complex than that, and it would be a serious political oversight to dismiss the problem. [passage omitted]

Let us look at our country's experience. Afghanistan, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Katyn, the gulag, the execution of the Romanovs.... Enough examples? How many Vietnam syndromes have each of us suffered and almost all at once—10 or even more? No nation can survive long with such a burden of guilt and humiliation. The natural solution is to give a plaintive cry that "it is all correct" and then equally plaintively repent.

The consequences are obvious. Whereas in the past the main issue that worried the Soviet man in the world around him was whether or not there would be nuclear war, now more and more people are trying to find out with a masochistic relish: Who else is going to wipe his feet on us?

All these issues became serious on the eve of the president's visit to Tokyo. Let us face facts: A great many Russians did not grasp the subtleties of international law in the territorial dispute with Japan. They merely felt that Russia has become so weak that people are beginning to take territory from it. The Japanese, of course, made the mistake of not gauging the strength of those feelings. But how could they, when even we ourselves did

not grasp the strength of those feelings? It is a good thing, a very good thing, that Boris Yeltsin assessed the situation, albeit intuitively and at the last moment, and did what many people consciously or subconsciously expected him to do.

Nationalism, of course, is irrational and ridiculous, and no professional would seriously confuse national interests with nationalist appeals. But when it becomes clear that a country's internal problems are starting to obstruct its foreign policy, something must be done.

For example, within the Foreign Ministry itself people are arguing. Some dislike the minister's "Atlantic" orientation to the detriment of the Pacific; for others the problem lies elsewhere. Be that as it may, Andrey Kozyrev is a professional diplomat and professionals are also taking issue with him (either openly or behind office doors). But the public at large will not and, moreover, need not try to investigate the subtleties of this professional activity just as no one needs to know in detail what nuclear physicists or the creators of new polymers do. A citizen of a country should, however, be generally confident that the polymers do what they are supposed to do and that diplomacy corresponds to our national interests.

The fact that a considerable proportion of the population dislikes Russia's foreign policy is due simply to its image and the impression created by television. Given our ten-fold Vietnam syndrome, too many people would have liked to see the post of foreign minister filled by an experienced veteran regularly beating the table with his big fist. A. Kozyrev is considered too soft. This is a reality, albeit an unpleasant one.

This is despite the fact that the minister himself is not a soft man. He does not shirk a political fight: Outward calm and unflappability in acute situations (and he has been in quite a few of those—August 1991, the visit to Nagorno-Karabakh, and so forth) are some of his character traits. As a professional he knows how to use the instrument of forceful diplomacy coupled with the fact that in international dealings threats are uttered softly and with a smile. But a politician's image is sometimes formed independently of his real actions. In America, the diplomats did their job but the foreign policy image was associated more with Ronald Reagan and less with his Secretary of State, George Schultz (who had the appearance of the experienced veteran).

In Russia, too, the notion of a Yeltsin-Kozyrev team, in which the former, who greatly impresses the "average" voter, plays the part of Reagan, is also coming into being of its own accord. But this is a spontaneous process and Yeltsin's image as a foreign policy figure has not been established in the mass consciousness.

It is being developed with difficulty and accompanied by errors as the awareness grows that the style of diplomacy must be corrected. There are two examples of that: the visit to Japan and the suspension of the withdrawal of troops from the Baltics. In both instances there was

confusion and long, conflicting explanations from press secretaries or deputy ministers. Let us hope that Russia's sovereign policy partners understand that it is hard to get by these days without ostentatiously banging your fist on the table. But nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that this exercise could cause considerable harm to national interests if it is not done by a professional.

Government Contenders Vie at Business Seminar

MK1311161092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Nov 92 p 2

[Report by Andrey Lekant: "Parade of Political Forces at Business Seminar Devoted to 'Gaydar Government'"]

[Text] Yesterday marked the end of the "Doing Business With Russia" international business seminar, organized by the FINANCIAL TIMES and essentially a showcase for the main political forces influencing the course of Russian reform and public opinion. Or, rather, for influencing those who are clearly quite moderate. (Purely business subjects were covered, too—banking, investment, and so on. But that was quite separate). The following were represented—the government, candidates for the government, the Central Bank of Russia, the local administration, industrialists, foreign advisers....

One cannot fail to note the high degree of skill with which the speakers played their parts (or the high-quality organization of the event and the way it was chaired by former U.S. Ambassador Jack Matlock and John Lloyd, head of the FINANCIAL TIMES Moscow office).

Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays had to deliver the speech on the government's behalf owing to the unavoidable absence of Yegor Gaydar. Giving an elegant account (in Russian) of the year's results, Mr. Chubays expressed the cabinet's willingness to correct their mistakes. He highlighted three areas of the reformers' economic policy which they will steadily pursue—improving the financial position, carrying out dynamic privatization, and opening up the economy. Promises that were just as nice to hear as they were in December 1991.

The practice of "shock therapy" and the theory underpinning the government's policy were vigorously upheld by Professor Anders Oslund [name as transliterated] of the Stockholm Institute of the Economy of Eastern Europe (a European rival to Jeffrey Sachs, he is a consultant and lobbyist for progressive governments). "Laying into" everyone (with great artistry), Mr. Oslund attacked those who, in his opinion, are holding up Russia's liberal development—the bureaucrats, Volskiy, and Gerashchenko. The latter was accused of maintaining low (80-percent) bank interest rates in the face of 2,000-percent annual inflation (its monthly indicator has changed from 8 percent a month in August to 30 percent a month today). He is also to blame for the fact that the "easy money" policy (soft loans of 10 percent to industry) is "hitting the weak" and resulting in hyperinflation. While the populist policy advocated by Civic

Union in the shape of Arkadiy Volskiy is more dangerous than the threat of "brownshirt Red" revenge.

Mr. Gerashchenko, for his part, gave a calm and dry speech. He referred the question of loans back to the government—at whose request they were issued. He called for sensible reform, and he hinted almost imperceptibly that the lead in Russian reform is being taken by the Central Bank of Russia.

Mr. Volskiy took umbrage with his "friend" the professor. He referred to advisers who know little of the realities of Russia, and complained about the press, which has forgotten that it was the first to start talking about the market. He denied that Civic Union is opposed to the government. He tried to demonstrate that... the industrialists' union (RSPP) had not called for any resignations from the government. (Actually, Mr. Travkin did make such a call—but he is from Civic Union). But, in general, the content of the speech was as usual (NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA has set out A.I.'s position in detail).

Separate from the rest (and therefore not in chronological order) was the speech "for foreign consumption" (given in English, hands in pockets) by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy. Russian listeners unanimously considered the report to be a "gentle start to the election campaign."

The assessment made by the "reformer from below" of the state of the economy differed little from the ones that had gone before. The difference was in the emphasis—a "decentralization" rather than a liberalization of pricing is under way; it is impossible to stabilize the currency of a country which does not exist; it is necessary to simplify trade between the former union republics as much as possible. Moreover, Mr. Yavlinskiy was responsible for the description we used in our headline—"the Gaydar government." His final passage on this subject—"I do not want any personnel changes to the cabinet: It is not necessary"—sounded offensive to the government in the context of the entire speech....

So, let us take one last look at the participants in this parade. The government will probably be replaced. There is a high degree of probability that the centrist opposition has no future. The Central Bank of Russia will be around for a long time. There is a candidate whose time has not yet come.... Someone is missing.... It is a real temptation to suggest: "Someone called Skokov."

PRAVDA Reports on Clinton's News Conference

PM1311173992 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Nov 92 p 3

[Report by Vladislav Drobkov: "The Chief Thing Is To Fulfill Promises... Bill Clinton's First News Conference"]

[Text] Washington, 13 Nov—Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton, elected the new U.S. president 10 days ago, is a patriot of his home state. He gave his first news conference with his new status Thursday not in Washington but in Little Rock.

Clinton reported on the appointment of more than 40 of his closest aides to the group dealing with the transfer of affairs from the Republican to the Democratic administration. He declared that at present, he does not intend to be in any hurry to appoint all the staff members in his administration.

At the news conference the greatest attention was devoted to the new president's priority tasks. According to Clinton himself, his main aim will be to fulfill his election promises as quickly as possible, primarily to revive the U.S. economy, create new jobs, and raise Americans' living standards.

As a first step, Clinton is prepared to grant tax advantages to companies and firms that invest funds in expanding production and creating new jobs. He hopes this will make it possible to provide work for half a million Americans in the very first year. The president also plans to begin major projects in the sphere of improving the infrastructure—the repair and construction of roads and bridges, water supply systems, etc. According to him, money saved as a result of reducing military spending can be allocated to these areas.

The new president was asked a question about his attitude to claims that he did not receive a mandate from the majority of voters. As is known, only about 43 percent of the voters voted for the Democratic candidate. In addition, only 55 percent of eligible voters went to the polls.

"It is not such a bad thing to get 100 electoral votes more than you need," Clinton replied. He recalled that less than 40 percent of the electorate voted in the past for the greatest U.S. president, Abraham Lincoln.

Clinton declared that it will be important for him to draw up "a multiyear plan for the defense budget," which would make it possible, even if reductions are being made, to "maintain U.S. defenses as the mightiest in the world." On other issues, he singled out the need "to continue consistent efforts to reduce nuclear arms with Russia and other nuclear powers; to work hard to end the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction—nuclear, biological, and chemical; to support the Middle East peace process, doing everything in my power to ensure its uninterrupted continuation; to do everything possible to strengthen global economic growth...."

Economic Issues

Yeltsin Chairs Government Meeting on Economy

Reports Budget Details

LD1611141192 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1308
GMT 16 Nov 92

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondents Ivan Novikov and Gen-nadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow November 16 TASS— There will be no deficit-free budget in 1993, but the deficit will be more or less civilised—4.8 per cent of the Gross National Product (GNP), according to President Boris Yeltsin who chaired a meeting of the government on Monday [16 November].

However, in 1993 prices the deficit will total eight per cent, according to Finance Minister Vasily Barchuk who said the coming year will face a 70-per cent inflation and the GNP will amount to 39,900 billion roubles.

Both budget spendings and revenues will decrease in the coming year, the former from 76.6 to 74.9 per cent of the GNP and the latter from 35 to 30.3 per cent, according to Barchuk. Allocations will increase for social needs from 48 to 54.6 per cent and those for agriculture will rise to 12 per cent. Defence spendings will comprise 12 per cent of all allocations compared to 15.7 per cent this year.

Yeltsin welcomed more allocations for social needs, but added local budgets are to receive more money. "Without an increase of spendings of local budgets reforms would not go", he said, according to his press service.

Speaks on Draft 1993 Budget

OW1611143392 Moscow *INTERFAX in English* 1419
GMT 16 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairing a session of the Russian government on Monday [16 November], which was considering the draft budget for 1993, President Boris Yeltsin declared that the foreseen level of deficit (4.8% of the GNP) corresponds to the budget practice of the civilized countries. The presidential press secretary, Vyacheslav Kostikov, cited the quotation of the head of the state: "non-deficit budget is unreal." The message of the press service states that appreciating the positive feature of the Russian program for the next year, the president emphasized its obvious social orientation, the strive to support the less protected circles of population, and the spheres "upon which the moral health of the nation depends." Yeltsin expressed dissatisfaction with the inappropriate level of decentralization of the economy reflected in the draft budget: "reforms at places will skid without the increase of the expenditure part of the local budgets." The president warned the government about the threat of the growth of the Russia's foreign debt. "We should

demonstrate courage of a great power and to substantially reduce the dependence of the Russian Federation on loans," he said.

Speaking about the transfer of a number of the CIS countries to their national currencies, the president said that Russia had the right to adopt adequate measures and, in particular, to foresee a principle of an automatic transfer of payments for fuel and energy to the level of world prices under direct payments in hard currency.

Yeltsin Lowers Value-Added Tax, Raises Social Benefits

LD1411213592 Moscow *Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian* 1800 GMT 14 Nov 92

[Report by correspondent Sergey Dorenko; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] President Yeltsin today announced that value-added tax will be 20 percent—as opposed to 28 percent—and will be lower—only 10 percent—for food starting 1 January. A presidential decree was signed today doubling social allowances and benefits to families with children, as well as students' stipends in Russia, starting 1 December 1992.

Defense Minister Grachev reiterated today that there are no plans to call up students.

Cabinet Determines Sequence To Revitalize Economy

OW1311175992 Moscow *INTERFAX in English* 1710
GMT 13 Nov 92

[From "Presidential Bulletin" prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Government has prepared a program of immediate measures to be taken from now until the end of the first quarter of 1993 to revive Russia's economy. Once the government finalizes the document it shall be submitted to parliament.

Over the next six months the government is planning to maximize activity to resurrect economic ties and establish new relations with CIS members and other countries. Financial support shall be given to priority branches and to separate enterprises in the form of tax breaks and special loans.

In the fuel and energy complex there are plans to put idle oil wells back into operation and to increase gas extraction at deposits. In 1993, thanks to the introduction of new production facilities, work at enterprises in ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy and in the chemical, medical and microbiotic industries should stabilize. Ten specific programs have been drawn up for machine-building, oriented mostly on producing new equipment for the

agro-industrial complex, transportation and construction. Next year construction at over one hundred sites for textiles and light industry shall continue.

About 250 bn [billion] rubles shall be allotted in a special credit to convert enterprises in the military industrial complex. This will increase production of civilian goods by about 160 bn rubles. In agriculture the state is obliged to support livestock breeders, in particular through subsidies to consumers and by allotting funds to import grain.

In the fields of science, education and culture, priorities include researching lakes and seas, developing high energy physics and environmentally clean energy and developing up to date equipment for agriculture. At least two percent of the federal budget shall go towards developing culture and the arts in the first quarter of 1993.

The government is planning to increase wages on average by 2.5-3 times next year. The program includes precise guidelines on fiscal policy, relations in the CIS and ruble zone and Russia's foreign trade policy in coming months.

Industrialists, Entrepreneurs Union Holds Congress

Back Anti-Crisis Program

OW1411183392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1712 GMT 14 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The congress of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs was over today, having approved a program of proposed measures to surmount Russia's economic crisis, and a final statement.

The program warns that some of today's trends in the Russian economy threaten to block the implementation of reforms and endanger the state's integrity. According to the document, the crisis cannot be surmounted by individual corrective measures. What is needed is a new approach based on thorough understanding of Russia's national interests and specific features.

The Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs maintains that the economic policy should immediately be put on a new basis, "seeking to satisfy the direct needs of the majority of the population, enterprises, and business people, and should take into account the interests of each region." The main point of emphasis in the program is state regulation of the creation of a market economy in order to reduce to the minimum the negative effects the process has on the population.

In the final statement, the union accuses the government of serious mistakes in the implementation of its reform program and of making unjustified efforts to accelerate the implementation of the reforms ignoring the adverse

economic and social consequences these efforts may have. The union advocates the creation of an efficient market economy "in order to prevent the further impoverishment of the people, provide decent living standards for every citizen, and avoid mass unemployment."

According to the statement, the existing disagreements on corrections to be made in the reform program are "no reason for confrontation and can be resolved." The union stresses its readiness to cooperate with the government and the Supreme Soviet, and its support for the president, and pledges to bear its share of responsibility for the implementation of its program.

Yeltsin Speech Notes Economic Progress

LD1511040592 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2030 GMT 14 Nov 92

[Speech by President Boris Yeltsin at the Congress of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs in Moscow on 14 November—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed delegates and participants in the Congress of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, esteemed guests:

The forum of Russian industrialists and entrepreneurs has assembled at a critical moment in the history of our homeland, the history of Russia. I fully understand and share your anxiety over the state of the economy and the social atmosphere. I support your desire to carry out a profound transformation in Russia under conditions of civil peace and harmony.

An unbridled campaign has been mounted recently with the aim of whipping up political hysteria. It is being conducted by a disgraceful group that has virtually no social base behind it and not very much in the way of thought. They are frivolous and want to sow panic, destroy reform, and make whatever political capital they can out of it. They have a lot of emotion, but they are not strong on facts and are extremely weak when it comes to constructive proposals.

I have not come here to polemicize with them. I would consider that to be unworthy, especially against the background of the problems facing Russia. I suggest we talk only about the matter at hand. Quite a few public organizations of business people have been founded in Russia. I would like to take this opportunity to speak and to share my view of the situation and the future development of reform with all the industrialists and entrepreneurs.

Soon a year will have passed since the global transformations in Russia began. Naturally, there have been a good number of doubts and difficulties. We have heard reproaches from all sides, and there has been no lack of grim predictions almost every month. Yet after many years of marking time, things have started moving. The

phase of storms and squalls is not yet over, but I am firmly convinced that we have left the old ways behind and can never go back.

The foundation of a new Russian economy is being built. By our common efforts and despite a difficult start, we have succeeded in keeping production afloat and preventing its collapse. Managers have not yielded to the desire of certain political forces to plunge Russia into the chaos of a destructive wave of strikes. In doing so they have given invaluable support to the government, sharing with it the responsibility for the market reforms.

On the whole, enterprises have been able to withstand the tough pressure of the new economic realities. They have learned to live without the blinders and props of the plan. They have multiplied their independence. The industrial enterprises have begun to establish their own new technological connections and to use stock exchange and banking structures. Experience in operating in a situation of free price formation is being gained gradually.

An ever greater number of industrialists and entrepreneurs are understanding that the slogan—Obtain at a fixed price and sell at a free price—simply cannot be carried out. A new management mechanism, corresponding to contemporary conditions, is developing. Management was simply lax, even quite recently; instructions disappeared into a vacuum.

This state of affairs now is being overcome at both the state and enterprise level. The ruble has emerged as perhaps the most effective lever of management for both ministers and directors. This means that a new, normal economy has begun to take shape.

Those economic leaders who go to the government or the president in large groups and ask for more and more new ministries to be set up do not understand. A new structure has been adopted to govern industry. A total of 30 ministries and departments are to be abolished. Some will remain, but with completely different functions now. They will have only functional obligations and no obligations for the direct management of enterprises or other industrial structures. So I do not understand why you are asking for burdens to be placed on you again. Learn to live without them and without a nanny!

Today there are the first, admittedly small, signs of a change for the better. The cash crisis has been overcome. The problem of mutual nonpayment is being resolved. Even the harshening of financial policies for enterprises has been successfully reconciled with the interests of production. I am referring to the move to prepayment begun in July. The strengthening of the slump that occurred in July and August has been overcome. The volume of the lag behind last year's level, which reached 27 percent in August, began to fall in September. The production of civilian goods increased in September, not only in terms of value but also in real terms.

The trend toward overcoming the slump continued in October. A good grain harvest was gathered. Today we have 108 million tonnes, compared to 88 million last year, which is 16 percent ahead of last year [figures as heard]. This means that instead of the 25 million tonnes of grain we have had to procure during the year, we will have to procure perhaps 6 or 7 million tonnes. Foreign currency will go to industry and other spheres.

The number of production stoppages owing to shortfalls in the supply of material resources has begun to decrease. In other words, new market contacts are being established between enterprises, although with huge difficulties. These positive trends need to be retained and developed.

It is no less important that goods manufacturers, including state enterprises, are perceptibly changing the way they operate. Research carried out by the Ministry of Economics has showed that 80 percent of business managers are not planning to reduce business activity in the next few months, while 30 percent of them plan to step it up. In the first six months of this year, only 1 percent of managers planned a reduction in prices for output. The rest thought they would carry on working in the old way, resolving problems by increasing the price of goods and using prices to get their way. Now as many as 23 percent of directors are proposing to cut prices or maintain them at the level of the first six months of this year. They seem to want to increase output, sell more, and get the product to the consumer.

For a year now, a considerable portion of Russian Federation industry has been working only to put goods into storage and to increase the stocks of ready output, as 65 percent of managers have asserted. Strongly inflationary expectations were one reason for this, with managers holding on to goods in the hope of selling them at a higher price. Meanwhile, managers were going to the government or the bank for financial resources, counting on accessible credit and on being able to pay it off with depreciated rubles, or money.

With the fall season, economic practices are changing. There are (?70) enterprises already planning to substantially reduce stocks of ready goods in storage and to shift the goods onto the market. I see this as an important indication that directors, this body of directors, have turned toward the market and that they want to increase sales at all costs. In other words, there is confidence in the authorities and in the strategy of reforms itself. There is no aspiration to diverge or to allow any rolling back or renunciation of the reforms.

The most difficult period of the reforms, however, was not difficult for everyone by any means. Trading and banking capital, for example, flourished during that time. The infrastructure of a normal economy which had been lacking before began to emerge.

It is, of course, production, and first and foremost, industry that are the foundations of prosperity. Despite signs of it perking up, industry is still in a difficult state

today. The investment crisis has taken on threatening proportions. Centralized capital investment has fallen nearly three-fold this year, and capital investment financed from nonbudget sector sources is expected to fall by two and a half times compared to last year. The most important manufacturing centers, those working directly for the population, are having the hardest time.

The time has come to turn toward industry and to support production. The relevant decisions should be drawn up by the government, I think, in close contact with you, the captains of production, with science, the banks and exchanges, and so forth, and to put it in modern terms, with businessmen.

The government has prepared a program of state support for vitally important sectors and areas of production. Its priorities have been determined: The fuel and power industry, food, conversion, transport, communications, housing, and the social sphere. Particular attention in selecting enterprises for state support is being devoted to those that are located in large industrial centers where there is a high concentration of interlinked production facilities, and also to the so-called factory towns in which the enterprise is the only source of existence for the town's inhabitants.

The fate of defense conversion enterprises is of extreme concern. There are currently 800 of them in the most serious condition, but things are proceeding unevenly with defense conversion and we cannot be content with it at present. The government has made provisions for priority areas, redesignation, and a certain amount of support for defense production plants. This includes developing the production of high-quality output for agriculture, the consumer sector, the fuel and power complex, the chemical and timber complex, medical technology, and ecology.

We will provide defense enterprises with support, but you also must rely on yourselves and seek out internal resources. When I visit the localities, oblasts, and enterprises, I become convinced that they still have such reserves. It is impermissible for conversion to lead to the loss of scientific and technical potential. Our Academy of Sciences has an interest in this, and it currently is working in the special direction of specific programs, not just for the overall effectiveness of science.

The main purpose of the conversion is to rationalize the structure of the economy. We should decide together how it can be achieved. The provision of state credits is one of the main guidelines of the industrial policy.

In August-September 1992, the Russian Federation Central Bank offset mutual debts, naturally in coordination with the authorities, and released the appropriate credits. There are 1.5 trillion rubles [R] allocated for this purpose. Many enterprises have found it slightly easier to survive, but not all of them, and not completely, so an additional R1 trillion has been requested.

I do not want to play loose with the truth, I want to tell you firmly: This R1 trillion will not be available. If we throw in another R1 trillion as loans to top up turnover flow or pay some debt or another, this will bring about hyperinflation instantly. Prices will go up four, five, or six times, and further along there will be a social explosion, something all of us should prevent. Some critical cases will be supported, but nowhere near the sum of 1 trillion. I appeal for your understanding in this matter.

Two words on bankruptcies: The Supreme Soviet has adopted an appropriate law. Some have treated it as a disaster, but I cannot share this panic mood. About a year is allowed for the procedure of recognizing that an enterprise is bankrupt, and most importantly, for reorganizing its work. For the Russian economy, for many enterprises, a bankruptcy will not be the end, but the start of a healthy operation. One should not treat it as a disaster. Of course, we will not assess the success of the reform by a growing number of enterprise bankruptcies. Of course not.

The allocation of credits to privatization represents a serious problem. The money received through sales of enterprises is put into the state budget. The enterprise, in fact, is not modernized in real terms in this process. The privatization, however, is not worth much without the modernization. Together we should find answers to the following problems:

How to utilize the capacity of commercial banks in privatization. It is being used poorly.

How to organize the expert analysis of rehabilitation [sanatsionnyy] programs for enterprises.

How to allocate credits for the rehabilitation efforts.

How to tie it in with the eventuality of a bankruptcy. With which system of guarantees should it be backed up?

Your suggestions are needed on these questions, as well. I hope they will be voiced today. The government is ready for a constructive dialogue.

All in all, privatization is gaining momentum. In January this year less than 1,500 privatization requests were logged in, while there were 55,000 in August and 75,000 in September. The number is growing. The privatized portion has reached 24 percent in industry today. About 23 percent of trade enterprises and 16 percent of food enterprises have been privatized. At the same time, we cannot yet say that we are satisfied with the development of the privatization or the auction of major enterprises, though we have passed that deadline already.

Foreign credits should become a substantial investment support for industry. The question of receiving credits in many specific directions has been resolved already. Here we maintain the following policy: We should stop taking up tied credits and move toward nontied credits. With tied credits, all we do is boost the number of workplaces in those countries that provide us with the credit because we buy equipment from them on this credit account. We

do have, however, the possibility of increasing the number of workplaces and capacities. So we should take nontied credits and invest them in our enterprises to enhance their capacities, increase the number of workplaces, and eventually produce the same equipment at home. Our brains, hands, and potential are able to do this as well as any foreign enterprise, as it were.

We also want to exercise a certain protectionism with regard to our own enterprises for the joint development of, for instance, large deposits, like the Shtokmanskoye gas deposit. Of course, foreigners are saying: Leave it to us to develop this major deposit, it has great potential; I say: No, only with the participation of our enterprises. This also applies to the unique broadening of the Udokan copper combine, the construction of the Orenburg chemical and gas complex, and so on. Dozens of our country's largest enterprises are interested in these projects; we definitely must support them and not just farm them out to foreigners. Russian enterprises will not be forced out of these promising industries, and they will receive orders accordingly.

A portion of the foreign credits will be distributed on a competitive basis among enterprises. Maybe some part of the credits should be given out in the currency market through auctions. The main thing is to open free access for all enterprises to foreign currency by buying it and stabilizing its exchange rate. All your proposals in this respect will be very valuable to us.

In the near future the possibility of such access will be widened significantly. All commodity producers will be able to buy currency on the stock exchange at a hard currency exchange rate. The government has been instructed to prepare the necessary normative base for this. Free access to hard currency will be beneficial, first to those enterprises that are oriented to a great extent toward foreign deliveries. It also will untie the hands of those that depend on internal monopolists.

At the same time it is clear that we will not be able to provide a stable hard currency rate if the emission of money is not strongly controlled. It has to be tied to the factual foreign currency influx into the internal foreign currency market. All other emission channels should be cut off. This step will ensure the stability of the ruble in the currency market and enhance its steadiness. I did talk about this before, in my speech at the Supreme Soviet session.

An objective and inevitable process is taking place now, that of hauling internal market prices up to world prices. To fight this process is counterproductive. Our number one task is to ensure that we sustain the correspondence of the buying power of the population and enterprises, on the one hand, to the movement of prices, on the other. A clearly defined emission procedure is needed to carry this out.

I also would like to touch on taxes. It is a sore point for you, I understand. The tax burden is heavy at present, of course. We understand this. This is primarily because of

the great expenditures the state is being forced to incur and the huge public sector, which is lagging behind in its finances and logistics. It is seriously behind.

You know how much pressure our budget is under and how difficult it is to balance the books. I think September is the only month in which incomes were above expenditures. We gradually will reduce taxes to sensible levels, and most importantly, we will differentiate. I am sure that the directors will continue to support the best and most promising ideas and put them into practice.

I am convinced that we have to prevent, at any cost, any regression to the past so as to be able to enjoy the fruits of our own labor, all the more so since the most difficult phase of the reforms is behind us. We can see this from the mood of the public.

I think it is essential to share with you my impressions of the Civic Union program that has been presented to me. You are members of this Union. My view is that it is the most complete nongovernment program submitted to the Russian leadership so far. I have no doubts over much that is in it. We have no argument on such key issues as the need to halt the slide in living standards, which is obvious to everyone; to support industry; and to reorient the economy toward producing food, consumer goods, and services. Nor can there be any argument that privatization should lead to free competition rather than to private monopolies replacing the state monopoly. There is also the specific proposal to adopt a package of measures to develop the circulation of bills of exchange, plus soft loans to enterprises in exchange for stabilizing their output levels and prices. In exchange for this... [changes thought] This is something that many should support and practice, the sooner the better.

In a word, I am sure that part of the Civic Union program will become part of the Russian Government's program, but I do not want to make promises I cannot keep. Unfortunately, some of the measures being proposed are absolutely unacceptable and will not be accepted. Among them are the thinly veiled desire to restore the previous state order system, the desire for a wage and price freeze, and some of the measures on foreign currency regulation, which amount to a virtual return to command-economy regulation.

These measures are unacceptable, not because of some kind of ideological prejudice but because they are impracticable. If they were practicable, then the previous USSR leadership would have put them into effect. Not only that, but these few proposals seem out of place in the Civic Union program. They do not fit the overall context and even conflict with the great majority of proposals. I hope they do not reflect the views of the majority of the Union's members.

Esteemed participants in the Congress, in January I told industrialists and entrepreneurs that the government hopes for your support. I must say today that many of the directors have justified that hope. It is clear today that just sitting on the fence means wasting time; it is

pointless. It is better to join in the work to ready ourselves properly for the market economy.

Mutual understanding between you and the government has not developed without difficulties. Let us not try to establish who has been more to blame for this. The main thing is that today it is stronger than yesterday. The Gaydar government is learning, and it is not doing badly at speaking the language of the managers and at understanding their problems more clearly. The managers also are assimilating the fine points of market behavior and the language of the market. The positions are coming closer together, even though it takes time. Furthermore, this is happening against the background of deepening our economic and political reforms, which is what matters.

Russia's future lies not in confrontation and destruction, but in harmony and in constructive and fruitful work for the good of Russia's citizens. We have a common goal: To revive Russia's economy, to put the country's economy at the service of its citizens. I am sure we will be equal to that task. The government will do all it can so the Russian industrialist and entrepreneur can spread his wings, operate in freedom, and do his job with enjoyment. I wish you success. [applause]

Yeltsin Recognizes 'Objective' Criticism

LD1411223592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya
Ostankino Television First Program Network in
Russian 1800 GMT 14 Nov 92

[Statement by President Boris Yeltsin on the Congress of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs in Moscow on 14 November; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] We underestimated their path at first. It may be a somewhat peculiar path, but it is a path supporting reforms. It is a reformist path with some amendments of its own, which they are presenting and which they presented today both in Arkadiy Ivanovich Volskiy's report and in the speeches of congress delegates. It seems that the greatest rapprochement will occur between the body of directors, if one can call them that...[changes thought] And support for it on the part of the president and government and, at the same time, support for government positions on reform issues. Of course, I heard criticism of the government today both in the report and in the speeches. It is objective and not aggressive. The main thing is that it contains constructive proposals on what to do next and how Russian industrialists and entrepreneurs should proceed further to lift the Russian economy. This is the main thing. The main thing is that there is not merely political chatter but a constructive basis to their activity. I saw today that there is.

Gaydar Speech on Tasks, Cooperation

LD1511114392 Moscow Russian Television Network in
Russian 2103 GMT 14 Nov 92

[Speech by Acting Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar at Congress of Entrepreneurs and Industrialists in Moscow on 14 November—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed colleagues, I will not now speak to you as Leopold the Cat would and call on you to live in harmony. It has to be said that our government's relations with our industrialists are rather complicated. Some time in the future I shall pen distressing memoirs where I shall describe with what difficulties we searched in November last year for dependable, serious, and reliable directors of enterprises who would agree to join the composition of our government. It was a very serious task which, all in all, we were, so to speak, unable to resolve at that stage. This is quite understandable. During that very difficult part of last year, it was impossible for our relations to be smooth. You are serious and reliable people; you have enormous experience in work and in life itself; you are responsible for what happens to your workforces, and, naturally enough, you are quite disinclined to experiment at your enterprises.

It therefore goes without saying that this very difficult path we had to traverse in order to—well, our economic life follows a pattern—in order for our economic life to be restructured, this path of risks, losses, costs, and potential social conflicts, simply could not have met with mass enthusiasm among directors of enterprises. We understood very well indeed and nothing surprised us here.

Well, all in all, in one way or another, we nevertheless did traverse this path in the course of a year, albeit with difficulties and mistakes—I can speak for a long time about our government's mistakes—and now, no matter how we dislike what is taking place—and we, too, dislike a great deal—we live in an economic system that is completely different from the system that existed a year ago. It is still very weak, it is still very shaky, but it is held together in a different way, it is operating in a different way, it has other goals and tasks, and within this context you have a different role to play. And it is here, it seems to me, that foundations emerge for normal, perhaps potentially effective cooperation; other tasks are coming to the fore.

These are no longer the tasks of rendering things asunder, nor are they the tasks of a thorough perestroika. They are the tasks of organizing normal work within a different economic system and within a different society. Here it transpires that we speak the same language and that generally, as a rule, we are trying to do the same things. Of course, within the framework of existing restrictions we have room for maneuver, but we do not diverge as far as our fundamental guiding principles are concerned.

Very serious doubts have been expressed about whether the property for privatization will be enough to secure the privatization checks. It has to be said that the government is probably worried about this issue just as much as anyone present here. It is indeed a most serious and most complex political issue. That is precisely why we are now trying to bring municipal property into play for privatization purposes. We are of course trying to broaden the category of enterprises subject to privatization as much as possible.

The 1993 program maximally removes the restrictions existing today, precisely in order to ensure that the privatization check is not worthless, because the trust of the population in the government and all the institutions of state power is the basis of social stability, and it goes without saying that we must resolve this task. We do not differ here on this issue. Incidentally, the preservation of the present corps of directors, inherent in the privatization program, is, in my view, a most important precondition for the privatization process to take place properly.

Subsequently, of course, everything will be put in its place by the market forces themselves. Directors will emerge who work very well in the market conditions, and they will become major managers and owners. Directors will also emerge who, in principle, are unable to work in the market conditions and who will, of course, lose their positions. But if a large-scale and serious cadre reshuffle is organized now, entrusted either to officials from the Russian State Committee for the Management of State Property, or to officials from our recently set up Industrial Committees, it is I believe most likely that it will yield no benefits to us.

In general, if we are to speak of the aspects of the Civic Union program, which we ardently support and accept, then it is everything that concerns the way in which state regulation in market conditions is to be set up. It concerns, during the process of building market relations, the way in which normal institutions of state regulation are to be set up, the way in which business is to be supported and long-term credits assured, the way in which credits can secure exports, and so on.

As realists I think you are most likely to agree that it is best if it does not happen—for it would be too much of a good thing—that taxes are brought down sharply and that, at the same time, social spending sharply increases. There are no fundamental disagreements here. We are ourselves interested, maximally so, in lowering taxes. But the way to get there according to real conservatives throughout the world lies through only one thing: through a substantial reduction in state revenue—expenditure—I do beg your pardon. This is the direction we are working on, and I think we will work together on this.

Now, as far as the political logic is concerned, it is of course up to the Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs whether or not it will support the government. I

am not calling for such support, although it is my view that we do have grounds for mutual understanding or dialogue. What I want to propose is, in any form and irrespective of the Civic Union position with regard to supporting or not supporting the government, to organize normal and systematic work to interact with regard to issues which, the world over, are first and foremost tackled best by organizations of industrialists and entrepreneurs. These are the issues of industrial policy, structural policy, supporting home business, supporting home investment projects, and supporting home export projects. It is the core of practical structural work which any government will have to grapple with, and I think that any government should be able to use the potential represented here in this hall.

Thank you.

Volskiy Address on Principles of Work

LD151120892 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2056 GMT 14 Nov 92

[“Excerpt” of speech by Arkadiy Volskiy, president of the Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, at the union congress in Moscow on 14 November—recorded]

[Text] Work has begun which, in its conception and consequences, exceeds all transformations ever undertaken in the many centuries of Russian history. While understanding the scale of the planned changes and correlating them with the experience that has been accumulated in the world, none of us—I can say this quite clearly—could have expected, of course, that the reforms would proceed easily and painlessly. Nor could anyone have anticipated that the economic situation would worsen so quickly or that the slump in production and the fall in the people's living standards would plummet in such a way.

This is why it is so important for us Russian industrialists and entrepreneurs to again and again make a deep analysis of the stage that we have been through to work out a joint position to escape the crisis, to link—and this is the main thing today—reformist aspirations with the practical possibilities of the national economy, and to ensure the steady but consistent transition of material production to a more intensive, effective, and stable mode in the market economy.

From the moment it was created, the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs has consistently and steadily adhered to precise professional and moral principles, which we enshrined in our charter unanimously, as you will recall. At various times we have felt harsh and occasionally most severe criticism from different quarters for defending corporative aspirations. It is precisely because we have not deviated from our chosen path, abandoned our key aims, nor just leapt at settling current tasks or gaining commercial benefits and profits, it is precisely for this reason that the union's authority and the numbers of our ranks have risen.

I believe it is necessary to point out the fundamental principles that lay the foundations for the work of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs. The first is the union's adherence to a market economy. This line ought to be indisputable and prevailing, however difficult we might find it all today, for it is based on the assumption that without the market, the economy cannot be highly effective, flexible, and receptive to scientific and technical changes, and to constant changes in the structure of public needs. At the same time, we favor a state regulated transition to the market, a liberal nature for the reforms that are being carried out, and a social orientation of the economy. We think that the establishment of a strong power, drawing on the authority of a president elected by the Russian people, on the Constitution, on the law and democracy, is a necessary prerequisite for the successful course of reforms.

Second, we proceed from the fact that world practice has not had a single example of introducing market relations by decree or by universal vote. There has never been a situation where a market economy has ever been built in this manner. It has always been a product of society's objective development, development that has been thought through and that takes account of the market's advantages and disadvantages. Universal experience shows that what is needed is time and serious and painstaking work aimed at forming and adjusting market structures, the infrastructure of the market, at setting up a relevant legal basis, at training personnel, and, finally, at changing the stereotyped mentality of the masses, which is the most difficult process.

If we were to count on a super fast, once and for all, command based administrative transition to the market, it would mean that we would not understand the internal logic of the genesis of market relations, and that we haughtily ignore normalities inherent in this process.

Third, our principle is drawing first and foremost on our own forces, our own resources, and the highest potential of the home industry and Russian business. From the very beginning of the reforms, we have been saying, for all we are worth, that it is necessary to open up the economy, and that it is important to involve foreign investments. At the same time, we insist that we should get rid of myths and illusions that the West will help us. We do not turn this help down. Remember, the Bible says: Any alms giving is a blessing. But alms are just alms, and we must perform the main task. Any help can only be seen as an additional support aimed at mobilizing our internal reserves.

I fully agree with what President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin had to say today, and you applauded him. He said that we must take care to invest credits to create places for employing people here, not for facilitating their employment by our creditors.

Fourth, we are deeply convinced that a real transition to the market is impossible without taking account of

ethnic traditions, our country's peculiarities, historic production structure, culture, social factors, and finally, the mentality of our people.

Fifth, in our work we are consistently aiming at reducing the social costs of the reforms. Of course they will exist. But the union has stated on numerous occasions that going over to the market is not the goal but a means. Russia ought to go over from the command based system to a free market system, not for the sake of the market itself, but in order to build—with the help of the market—a rich Russia without the poor in the place of a poor Russia without the rich.

Finally, we believe that we must take all that benefits Russia from all the existing market economy systems in the West and East. The Russian emblem has always carried the symbol of the two-headed eagle. One head is turned to the West, while the other looks to the East. There is profound meaning in that. That is the basis upon which the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs has gone about its work.

Volskiy, Reporter Cited on Congress

LD1611000792

[Editorial report] Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian in its Itogi program at 1900 GMT on 15 November carries a 6-minute video report by correspondent Solov'yev on the Congress of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs. The report starts with shopfloor footage from the ZIL plant and details the predicament of the plant. Mikhail Yuriev, president of the INTERPROM industrial group, says that producers have no reasons whatsoever to carry on working in the present economic climate.

This is followed by footage of the Industrialists' congress, interspersed with quotes from Itogi's interview with Arkadiy Volskiy, chairman of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs. Volskiy begins: "When there is one group of people who establish the rules of the game, and there is another group of people who have to play by the rules, if they cannot take these rules in, then work won't advance, and reforms won't advance. So, the main challenge today is to make the reform profitable both to entrepreneurs and to industrialists. Profitable, I reiterate. Everything possible must be done for this."

Over footage of the congress in progress, the correspondent recaps the main economic issues discussed at the congress. The video then cuts to Boris Yeltsin who is asked by the correspondent whether he perceives the directors' corps as a political force. Yeltsin replies: "I perceive the directors' corps as an indispensable support for both the president and the government."

The correspondent then gives an overview of the changes in attitude of the government and the press to the directors. The video then cuts back to Volskiy, who continues: "I will say something somewhat risqué, if I

may, but I was surprised, in a way, to find reconciliatory overtones in the president's speech and to find Gaydar's position very friendly."

On the differences in the government's and the directors' stance over the issue of the transition to the market, and the government's unwillingness to tango with the directors, Volskiy comments: "After the program has already been polished, after several dozen people have already worked on it, probably hundreds, when 17,000 comments addressed to us have been received, many of them being repeats, of course, but anyway; when it has been discussed and is being presented—but not being accepted—the only way out we have is to become an opposition." Volskiy voices hope that the government will change its attitude within two weeks.

Mentioning the two major forces that took part in the Congress: the government and directors, i.e. industrialists, and the Civic Union, the correspondent says that there is a third force—the parliament, which is also involved in changes in the reform program. He continues: "The stance of the Industrialists' Union leader is unequivocal: The parliamentary commission headed by Ispravnikov should join in the dialogue between the government and the Civic Union this coming Wednesday." To this Volskiy adds: "Otherwise we will again do something against the Supreme Soviet. This is something to be avoided, even if everything works out with the government. I would like all three political forces, or the three estates, as it were, whatever you call them, to have one common program. Because presenting several programs to the congress is senseless, in my view. Arkadiy Volskiy, especially for Itogi."

The correspondent agrees with Volskiy and invokes the sad fate of the Ryzhkov-Shatalin program, which had very short shrift.

FITUR Chairman on Split with Miners' Union

PM1611125192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13
Nov 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with I. Klochkov, chairman of Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, by Georgiy Ivanov-Smolenskiy; place and date not given: "Dialogue with Government? Only From Position of Strength!—FITUR Chairman Igor Klochkov Believes"—last two paragraphs are editorial postscript]

[Text] IZVESTIYA No. 237 carried an interview with Boris Misnik, chairman of the Mining and Metallurgical Industry Workers' Trade Union—"Miners and Metallurgists Break With Klochkov's Trade Unions." The reasons for leaving FITUR [Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia] were named as, first, its bureaucratization; second, its economic policy, which runs counter to the policy of radical economic reforms; and third, its siding with "left-right" organizations like the National Salvation Front and "Working Russia." After the material was published, FITUR Chairman I. Klochkov telephoned the editorial office and offered his

own version of the departure of the miners' and metallurgists' trade union from FITUR.

[Klochkov] The metallurgists' and miners' trade union certainly did not need to leave FITUR in order to change the trade union movement for the better. Since May of this year we have been discussing the federation's structure and the possibilities of improving it.

In general, the decision to leave FITUR by no means reflected the position of over 2 million metallurgists and miners. At the plenum 41 of the 83 representatives of primary organizations participating in it voted for such a step. Not that they were empowered to do so by the trade union's members. Even now we are receiving many telegrams disagreeing with the decision to leave. They come from such giants of the industry as the Novolipetskiy Metallurgical Combine, for example.

As regards duplication of regional and sectoral trade unions belonging to FITUR and the "cumbersome" nature of its structure, there are quite definite grounds for this. The federation's presidium includes 62 people (not 100, as Misnik said in his interview), and this number corresponds to the number of autonomous entities, major industrial regions, and sectoral trade unions, which have to be represented on the leading organ. In addition, the trade unions themselves unite in associations along voluntary lines—associations of, for example, military sectors, budget-financed sectors, and processing industry sectors. The executive committee has been set up by decision of the FITUR Council for day-to-day, current management of the federation.

[Ivanov-Smolenskiy] But another reason was named among the reasons that prompted the miners' and metallurgists' trade union to leave FITUR—disagreement with the antimarket economic line pursued by the federation's leadership.

[Klochkov] There are different kinds of market. Given the path of transition to it chosen by the present government, the production slump has already reached 24 percent, and there is no end in sight yet. We see it as our chief task precisely to prevent a production slump and, accordingly, a drop in living standards. This is why we uphold the option of a regulated transition to the market.

[Ivanov-Smolenskiy] Such a transition was upheld by the Ryzhkov government, and it is well known what came of that.

[Klochkov] We are "for" regulation with the help of economic levers—taxes, investments.... With such a very high level of monopolism as exists in the Russian economy the slogan "Market wages for market prices" is not working, for wages are not keeping up with prices. Therefore we are against a monetarist policy in a pure form. Economic ties in Russia today have been disrupted because enterprises lack means of payment. By restoring the ability to pay and removing hundreds upon hundreds of enterprises from the "at-risk" index, we will also restore the viability of the economic organism. In this

sense the step by Central Bank of Russia Chairman Gerashchenko, who carried out partial mutual offsetting of enterprises' debts, has amortized the situation, for otherwise today we would have not a 24-percent drop in production but a 50-percent drop.

[Ivanov-Smolenskiy] According to the leaders of the miners' and metallurgists' trade union, it was prompted to leave your ranks by the fact that FITUR, in holding its protest action on 24 October, deliberately pooled its efforts with political forces that had joined the National Salvation Front, which was set up the same day. It was also then that "Working Russia" held rallies in Moscow and St. Petersburg.

[Klochkov] It is sufficient to look at the dates when the decisions were adopted on the holding of protest actions by us and by "Working Russia," and it will be obvious that this was not so. We adopted and announced the decision as early as 21 September, whereas "Working Russia" was considerably later. Moreover, in order to ensure that our meetings did not coincide with the "Working Russia" rallies and so as not to create the impression that we were joining it in some way, we moved the rallies in Moscow and St. Petersburg to 22 and 23 October. We did not postpone or cancel our action because we believe that it is necessary to hold a dialogue with the government from a position of strength.

[Ivanov-Smolenskiy] Then what, in your view, prompted the miners and metallurgists to leave FITUR?

[Klochkov] Well, let us start with the fact that how many of them will ultimately leave our federation is still a big question. Metallurgists in Moscow and in Rostov, Murmansk, Volgograd, Nizhniy Novgorod, and other oblasts object to this decision. Many believe that such a fundamental decision must be adopted at a congress of the trade union.

In my view the position of the leadership of the Mining and Metallurgical Industry Workers' Trade Union and the real reason for it are perfectly explicable. The independent trade unions in Russia are gaining in strength now. They make an inconvenient partner for those who do not like to conduct an equal dialogue with the opposition. There are people in the government who benefit from strikebreaking in trade union ranks. It would be more convenient for them to deal with split and weakened trade unions.

From the Editors

While offering FITUR Chairman Klochkov an opportunity to express his viewpoint, the editors do not share it in all regards, particularly in the economic sphere. It is also hard to agree with the idea that a "dialogue from a position of strength" should be conducted with the government, calling for its resignation and declaring its policy "foolhardy and antipeople."

The decision of the plenum of the Mining and Metallurgical Industry Workers' Trade Union aimed at achieving independence and greater efficiency in defending the interests of metallurgists has already been supported by such major "metallurgical" oblasts as Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Vologda, Belgorod, and also Samara, Tula, Magadan... The editors also possess data attesting that FITUR is exerting pressure on regional organizations of miners and metallurgists with a view to preventing them from leaving the federation—which is not in keeping with its charter.

Political Issues

Kozyrev Opens Foreign Policy Council's 2d Session

LD1611101492 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0957 GMT 16 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Niki-shev]

[Text] Moscow November 16 TASS—A second session of the Russian Council for Foreign Policy opened in Moscow on Monday [16 November]. The agenda includes Russia's policy in the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States and its close neighbours.

The session is being attended by prominent Russian scientists, leaders of major scientific institutions and diplomats.

The session was opened by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev who said that one of the main tasks of the Russian foreign policy was "to form a belt of good-neighbourly relations along the entire perimeter of Russia's frontiers."

The Russian foreign minister outlined a range of problems facing Russian diplomats. The results of the discussion will be taken into account in Russia's foreign policy concept which is currently being worked out by the Russian Foreign Ministry.

Yeltsin Rules Ministers Cannot Be Deputies

LD1411175192 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1547 GMT 14 Nov 92

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has signed a Russian Federation law on amendments and additions to the law on election of people's deputies. Henceforth, members of the Council of Ministers, the Government of the Russian Federation, are not allowed to be Russian people's deputies. The only exceptions are the chairman of the Council of Ministers and department heads. Neither can the president or vice president of Russia be deputies. The same applies to judges elected by the Congress of People's Deputies or the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. The law also lays down that elections are deemed not to have taken place if the sole

candidate registered in a constituency fails to secure election, if two candidates stand for election from a constituency and neither of them is elected, or if all candidates registered for a constituency are forced to withdraw.

Poltoranin—People's Deputies 'Detached From Reality'

OW1311180392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1710 GMT 13 Nov 92

[From "Presidential Bulletin" prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "Changes in the government are possible, but in the interests of business, not from any sort of pressure," said Russian Vice Prime Minister Mikhail Poltoranin in answer to a question from an INTERFAX correspondent. At a briefing in Moscow on Friday to mark the opening of the cabinet's press center, when discussing the conflict between legislators and the executive authorities, he stressed that one way out of the situation would be through the complete rotation of the entire Supreme Soviet at the upcoming Russian Congress of Peoples' Deputies. The vice prime minister is convinced that many deputies are "detached from reality" and "have lost voters' confidence." But in his opinion, it is also essential to bring "fresh blood" into the federal executive power structure.

If the Supreme Soviet is completely changed at the congress, Poltoranin thinks that the president and deputies could agree on the dismissal of specific members of the government.

Poltoranin let it be understood that he is not an ally of direct presidential rule in the republic, although this idea has often been brought up by local citizens. The vice prime minister also thinks that Yeltsin should not sign the law approved by parliament on the Council of Ministers, since the document is an attempt to wear down the border between legislators and the executive powers.

Leaders Condemn Calls for Emergency Situation

OW1411173692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1713 GMT 14 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The meeting which has been held in Moscow today, Saturday [14 November], by the heads of councils and parliaments at all levels in the Russian Federation condemned as dangerous both calls for scrapping presidency and threats to dissolve the Congress of People's Deputies and to introduce an emergency situation. The cautioning is expressed in the meeting's final statement urging Russia's branches of power to build their relations

on the basis of constant dialogue and professional cooperation in accordance with the Constitution and laws of the Federation.

The statement calls upon the president, the government, political leaders, and people's deputies to discard excessive suspicion and mutual accusations in favour of business-like cooperation, compromises, and balanced decisions. The recent polemics only served to drop the authority of both the Supreme Soviet and the RF [Russian Federation] Government, to shake social stability and civil peace.

The meeting expressed confidence that the 7th Congress of People's Deputies should uphold the Constitution and deepen the social influence of the reforms.

An appeal was also issued on the parties of the conflict in Northern Ossetia and the Ingush Republic. A way out can be found, it says, in the rule of law, observance of constitutional rights, in the work of lawful bodies of state power and local self-rule. Only then solutions can be found for complex social, economic, ethnic, and political problems besieging the conflicting sides.

Radio Believes 'Plans To Act Decisively' Exist

LD1411221892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Nov 92

[Text] [Announcer] On 14 November the leaders of Russia's [local] soviets and administrations went into conference in Moscow. Speeches were delivered by the chairman of the Supreme Soviet and by the acting prime minister. Nikolay Artemyev reports.

[Artemyev] The parliamentary speaker said that any attempt, by anybody, to impose a state of emergency or direct presidential rule without the Supreme Soviet's consent would be considered a coup d'etat. Ruslan Khasbulatov commented that the Law on the Government, which the Supreme Soviet has just passed, retains strong presidential powers but returns supervisory functions to the parliament. He also said he was sure that the president would sign the law. Acting Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar was invited to speak. Answering a sly question from one of the conferees about how he himself views recent allegations of plans to stage a coup and dissolve the representative authorities, Yegor Gaydar said:

[Begin Gaydar recording] I am absolutely against any measures that might be aimed at undermining the existing representative authorities. I believe that this would be a very dangerous move, and if it were to take place it would cause catastrophic consequences for Russia. [end recording]

[Announcer] Yegor Gaydar also remarked that the law on the Council of Ministers as passed by the parliament on 13 November makes it totally impossible for the government to function normally. Once it comes into force, this law will undermine the executive authorities.

An interesting picture is emerging. The acting prime minister thinks that a ruling already passed by the Supreme Soviet is a catastrophe, a move aimed at undermining the representative authorities. The circle is closed. For months we've been going around and around it: All attempts to gently open it up and turn it into a spiral with a way out have ended in failure. Russia is in paralysis. This is so obvious that in the run-up to December's Congress of People's Deputies we hear daily of plots to stop it from taking place, to dissolve the Supreme Soviet, impose a state of emergency, and so on. The fact that the speaker of parliament, Ruslan Khasbulatov, is if anything trying even harder to disprove these rumors is, on the surface at least, rather peculiar. Meanwhile, President Yeltsin prefers not to tackle the subject directly at all. What could all this mean?

First, to my mind, that there are indeed plans to act decisively should Russia lurch from paralysis to uncontrollable collapse. Second, a certain role in endorsing and publicizing any emergency measures can't be ruled out for the Supreme Soviet and its leader, who has the same effect on many deputies as a boar on a rabbit. Khasbulatov himself stresses that in law extreme measures can be justified if they are coordinated with parliament. Yet it seems to me that our crafty jurisprudence makes it possible to ask for the approval of just the Praesidium or even just one of the chairmen. A favor like that will, of course, be remembered in the future. Third, if the legislators are visited by the proverbial soldier who informs them that the sentries are tired and the deputies' time is up, then each of them will have a chance to play martyr to democracy. If that happens, who will be the biggest martyr is obvious. Whatever happens, Ruslan Imranovich can't lose. That is not said by way of criticism, he's simply a skilled politician.

From the moral standpoint, those who actually act and accept responsibility will come out looking worse. Until now, it's been the Gaydar team and reforming government in that position. Those who think it is essential to continue his policy, albeit in a different guise, will probably justify their actions in their own eyes by rephrasing what Lenin said: The only democracy that's worth anything is the one that's able to defend itself. It has to be recognized that Russian democracy is still worth little, so it needs someone who can defend it. And we shouldn't forget, incidentally, that the ends by no means always justify the means.

'Democratic Russia' Condemns Law on Government

OW1311193992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1915
GMT 13 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The coordination council of the movement "Democratic Russia" declared that the decree on the government adopted by the Russian parliament on Friday [13 November] presents a direct encroachment

on the constitutional principle of division of powers and creates a situation under which a legal lawlessness is quite possible.

According to the council, the decree actually changes the ruling system in Russia, depriving the president elected by the people of the real ruling and concentrating the control package of power in the hands of the parliament. "Democratic Russia" assesses this fact as a transformation of the country in a parliamentary republic what contradicts with the results of the referendum on introduction of a president elected by the people. The movement qualifies the actions of the parliament as an attempt "to usurp the authorities delegated to the Russian president by the people of the Russian Federation."

Pro-Reform Deputies Deny Wanting Presidential Rule

LD1311182592 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1806
GMT 13 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow November 13 TASS—Leaders of the parliamentary "Coalition for Reform" comprising President Boris Yeltsin's most determined supporters denied on Friday [13 November] that they called for presidential rule in Russia.

"We are against any unconstitutional rule, both 'parliamentary monarchy' and presidential rule," Sergey Yushenkov, coordinator of the faction "Radical Democrats," said.

However if the balance of power between the legislative and executive branches is destroyed at the upcoming Congress of People's Deputies due to open in December, the president will have to take adequate measures to protect the principle of power delineation in Russia, Yushenkov said.

Coalition leaders criticised the law "On the Council of Ministers—the government of the Russian Federation," the adoption of which violated the existing Constitution. The law, which was adopted in the second reading, prohibits the president from appointing members of the cabinet and runs counter to the principle of distribution of powers, Aleksey Surkov, coalition member, said.

Democratic Center Calls For Constructive Dialogue

LD1311193892 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1855
GMT 13 Nov 92

[Text] Moscow November 13 TASS—The Democratic Center Bloc of parliamentary factions on Friday [13 November] issued a statement denouncing calls to disband the Congress of People's Deputies and for Boris Yeltsin's resignation as "anti-constitutional".

"In order to impart a constructive character to the congress, we call on the president, government and all deputies' factions to begin consultations immediately. They should result in a clear programme of joint actions by the president, government and parliament, which will be presented to the congress," the document said.

Burbulis Admits Possibility of Ministerial Changes

LD1611114492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] Replying to questions from a RIKa news agency correspondent, Gennadiy Burbulis, state secretary under the Russian president, said he accepts that there could be changes in the composition of the government. He said it is completely natural and normal for the composition of the team to be edited, as Gennadiy Burbulis put it, according to abilities and skills necessary to resolve issues of executive powers. At the same time, the state secretary pointed out that the president has no intention of making any compromises over the composition of the government [personalnikh ustupok].

Volskiy For Compromise Between Government, Civic Union

LD1411180792 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1729 GMT 14 Nov 92

[Text] Moscow November 14 ITAR-TASS—"We have agreed that before Wednesday an expert group of the government and the Russian Congress of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs will remove the existing program differences", said Arkadiy Volskiy, president of the congress, speaking at a press conference on Saturday.

He also added that if the group fails to achieve the aim, the government will lose the "Civic Union's support at the forthcoming Seventh Congress of People's Deputies.

Gaydar Comments at Parliament Faction Meeting Reported

MK1611140392 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Nov 92 p 2

[Vladimir Todres report: "Russian Olympus Welcomes Civic Union. Horsetrading with 'Reform Team' Not Over Yet"]

[Text] "Arkadiy Ivanovich Volskiy's list of priorities does not differ from mine," Yegor Gaydar said on the evening of 12 November at an assembly of the people [stecheniye naroda]. "The market economy needs to be controlled. We must develop a range of influences to help the economy adapt to the market."

The assembly of the people was officially called a meeting of Supreme Soviet factions that support the Civic Union platform, but it also drew some people from

the top levels of Russian politics. The presidium comprised Rutskoy, Khasbulatov, Gaydar, and Chubays. In the auditorium were Volskiy, Vladislavlev, Petrakov, Travkin, Lipitskiy...

When they announced the general meeting, the organizers set themselves the obvious task of demonstrating that, in the current dramatic situation, compromise from all forces that have stated their adherence to market reforms (in whatever version) is not only necessary but possible. The main subjects covered in the speeches by the "Olympians" had been predicted beforehand—easily and very accurately. Ruslan Khasbulatov: "Society is not split—it is striving for unity and mutual support. Only politicians and politickers are split... We have no serious force that opposes reform. The congress is not something I like either, but it exists! And it exists in accordance with the Constitution..." Aleksandr Rutskoy: "My ideology differs from that of the people around me. The situation in the country is such that it's shameful to use even the word 'crisis' to describe these processes... We are creating a class of owners out of people who trade in thin air. Naturally, the West has been no help—who is going to help create a competitor for themselves? On the contrary, people have always waged war to destroy Russia."

The essence of the amendments to economic policy that were proposed by Arkadiy Volskiy came as no surprise to observers either—state regulation of the transition to the market is inevitable and necessary; the main threat is a slump in production; prices of consumer goods should be restricted by administrative measures, as should the size of wage packets. Volskiy again referred to the Chinese experience, where "on every street corner there are banners saying 'Stop. Look. Then proceed.' That's what we need."

The political conditions for these amendments were repeated by the straight-talking Nikolay Travkin: "Burbulis, Poltoranin, and Makharadze are the center of political intrigues. They need to be sorted out before the congress. Only then will it be possible to pool our forces."

What about Yegor Gaydar? After all, given that Civic Union is "striving for compromise" in a clearly aggressive way, the team of "cabinet economists" has long had to defend itself on its own territory. But Gaydar himself, it seems, still does not consider himself a lost cause and, at any rate, is in no hurry to name a date when he plans to resign. The homage to the Chinese experience and the praise of the Civic Union economic program (which "has become noticeably less inflationary than before") are at least counterbalanced by another statement: "I cannot agree with the patent nostalgia voiced in Civic Union leaders' speeches for the Gossnab and Gosplan. The system of new economic relationships has already started to take shape. Attempts to turn the clock back would mean complete chaos."

The acting premier stubbornly refuses to endorse talk of future changes to the government. Close associates claim that this is not only because he has the president's backing, but also because the current cabinet has an uncommon sense of cohesion.

Gaydar's entourage also gives another reason—and it is one of the main ones! The former and current nomenclatura finds it hard to imagine that reputation means as much to him—the product of an academic environment—and to the colleagues in his team, as power itself. If only because it is their reputations that have paid them their main dividends. Although in recent months the cabinet may indeed not have moved very far away from the economic dispositions of Civic Union, the main difference between them is obvious—things that the “Chicago [monetarist] boys” agree to unwillingly and reluctantly would be zealously and joyfully implemented by the Civic Union “coalitionists.”

In this situation, Gaydar, who has agreed to remain at Staraya Ploshchad, is not only cast in the role of “red diplomatic courier,” ferrying Western (hitherto semi-mythical) money to “directors” offices. He will have to continue imparting an image of “liberal economic reform” to actions that clearly have nothing whatsoever to do with such reform. The very concept of “liberal reform in Russia” will be long (if not terminally) compromised both within the post-Soviet area and outside it. Unless the new “coalition” government realizes that it has to continue what Gaydar's “December cabinet” began. And comes to this realization without having had time to do what was promised [prichem poymet, ne uspev do togo nadelat obeshchannogo]. But the chances of this happening are still quite slim...

Incidentally, the pregress horsetrading is not over yet. The parties “seeking dialogue and striving for compromise” are still setting conditions.

Vice Premier Shokhin on Government's Future

PM1311153592 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 12 Nov 92 p 2

[Report on interview with Deputy Prime Minister A. Shokhin by Aleksey Luzin; place and date not given: “Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin: ‘We Have No Intention of Giving the Congress Any Christmas Gifts’”—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] As the next, Seventh Congress of Russian People's Deputies approaches, the political situation in the country is becoming increasingly embittered. Consolidation of forces in opposition to the government's course is taking place. Demands for the present cabinet's resignation and even for the elimination of the institution of presidential power are being made increasingly frequently. We asked the deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Government to speak about his view of the present situation.

The situation in the country is complex. This is an obvious fact. But it is no more critical than it was, let us say, a year ago. A year ago we were in an impasse. The present government's chief achievement is that it has led the country out of the impasse of indecisive steps, out of the impasse of the search for a third path, which went on too long.

The country is different now. Although it cannot be said that the reforms have peaked. We are precisely at a critical point. Here we can either go on or turn back. From the viewpoint of economic growth the situation, strange though this may seem, is quite steady. I believe that there will be perfectly decent indicators in time for the Congress. The pace of the decline in production has slowed down, and in some places we are even attaining stabilization.

One of the government's chief tasks now is selective support for sectors and enterprises. Not to help everyone indiscriminately, but only those who want to help themselves and on whom the development of the economy as a whole depends.

Let us open the Civic Union's program: “It is necessary to help enterprises selectively, in order to end, on the one hand, inflation and, on the other hand, the production slump.” What is this? It is a description of what the government is doing. There are very many such points in this program.

Therefore I would not describe the situation in the country as a crisis. It is critical because now it is possible, within a month or two, to take the country back to the administrative edict system through the freezing of prices and wages and through the state order. This is the chief danger. A crisis of choice. From the viewpoint of the economy what is needed now is very clear steps and technical solutions. But, unfortunately, there are not that many technical solutions. Neither the Higher Economic Council nor the Civic Union yet speaks technocratic language, they only use general words.

Today it is exactly a year since we started work in this government. The first edict appointing Burbulis, Gaydar, and Shokhin was signed on 6 November last year. Who could have imagined that we would survive a year?

I am very enthusiastic about the appointment of Sergey Shakhrai. The point is that, following the departure of Burbulis and Shakhrai from the government, the cabinet has lacked a political organizing principle. I believe that the presence of Sergey Mikhaylovich in the government is appropriate, particularly now, on the eve of the Congress. Gennadiy Eduardovich Burbulis' formal non-membership of the government, although he is on the team, prevented him from participating actively in the cabinet. I would like to hope that such consolidation will happen now.

Unity in the government was expressed vividly at the last sitting. We agreed that neither the government as a whole nor its individual members will make any fussy

movements. I mean fussiness in the political sphere. That is, we have no intention of giving the Congress any Christmas gifts. We do not intend to indulge the deputies. We will do what is planned. This is probably normal. Because excessive fuss will be noticed all the same and will be perceived as even worse than a firm line.

I am somewhat surprised that the Civic Union has demanded a cabinet reshuffle in such a primitive way. It is one thing when the cabinet's concept, the concept of the new government coalition, is proposed for discussion. When this concept has been shaped, it will be possible to decide the question of the key figures. In addition, if this concept is underpinned by the premier's candidacy, it is his right to invite particular people. But it is these people's right to accept or reject the invitation. I believe that such a formula would correspond perfectly with the opposition's civilized contacts with the president and the government.

It would be correct for members of both the legislature and the executive to unite in order to accelerate the adoption of the new constitution. To hold new elections without dramatizing the situation, without confrontation. The executive branch must not proceed from the idea of dissolving the Congress, nor must legislators put forward the idea of impeachment or the elimination of presidential structures. There is one constitutional method: a new constitution—a new political system.

If we jointly accelerated the adoption of a constitution, the holding of elections, and the formation of parliament on a multiparty basis, then such upheavals would not occur. I do not know what sort of parliament there would be. Maybe it would be more of a "Baburin" than a "Ponomarev-Yakunin" parliament. Who knows? Nevertheless it is a fact that it would be formed on a basis which actually reflects the disposition of forces in society. There would no longer be a question of what kind of government is needed and what kind of coalition is needed. Although I admit that the reformers could actually lose. For example, the centrists and "patriots" could gain a majority. And for the time being neither parliament nor the Congress really reflect the real disposition of forces.

At a cabinet session a few days ago, many ministers shared their impressions of tours in the regions. It emerged that the situation in the provinces is much calmer. The level of politicization is much higher in Moscow. People know little about the Civic Union's programs and other programs. They are waiting for specific action, specific steps. There is an element of social weariness. If the elections were held suddenly, maybe the reformers could gain a majority.

The present disposition of forces in the Congress and in parliament cannot be identical. Because the country is

different. From the viewpoint of the system and geography. A parliament formed during the Soviet period cannot adequately reflect the disposition of sociopolitical forces.

As regards the question of whether we permit the government's resignation or not, I would say that the main task is to maintain the course of reforms. The course itself is in danger. From many viewpoints, as the saying goes, we are already standing on the brink. From the viewpoint of inflation, from the viewpoint of budget deficit, and from the viewpoint of production slump. Now is one of the turning points of the reforms. We have to go down a narrow little road, where every false move could land us in the abyss of hyperinflation. And at this crucial moment there is an impending political explosion, which has already become regular, entitled the Congress of People's Deputies. It inevitably affects the deterioration of the situation in the country via populist decisions.

Imagine that there is a change of government. No matter who gets in, we must somehow show that "we are better." How can this be shown? By giving enterprises credits, raising the people's wages, and such things. In two months it can be proved triumphantly that it is we who are the saviors of the people and industry. But there could be a sobering up in the third month.

After that there are two options. Either, insofar as hyperinflation will no longer be knocking at the door but will become a reality, the hyperinflationary option of development. It is unlikely that it will last long. Or an attempt to freeze prices and wages and fix the state order, and so on. The Civic Union has many elements of this program. But insofar as such tough measures in today's society—which, from the viewpoint of the "patriots", has gotten out of hand; that is, even major directors have become "marketeers" to the core—are impossible, repressive measures will be applied. But this is in many regards a step back. Or the second option: To start reform again, from scratch.

Therefore the cabinet's main aim is to somehow sustain the reforms and, second, to deny former Communists and future fascists the chance to weaken presidential power, since in this case the political equilibrium would be disturbed. This is how the government must act, proceeding from these two aims.

Compromises, of course, are possible. I will say honestly that cadre personnel play a secondary role. If it is a question of throwing a bone to the ravenous Congress—ravenous because it was not thrown this bone at the Sixth Congress—whereupon everything calmed down, there would be no problems at all.

But there is something very Soviet about the Civic Union's position. So, we replace so-and-so and so-and-so, put in others, and everything will be fine. How can major politicians go in for Soviet arithmetic of this sort? If Rutskoy set out the cabinet's concept and proved that key posts were going to be filled by other people,

that is a completely sensible political scenario. One can dispute or agree with it. But this way it looks more like an ultimatum from people, each of whom has gone to the president requesting a portfolio for himself. For example, Vladislavlev actually requested two portfolios at once for himself—mine and Aven's, one in each hand—while Travkin requested Makharadze's portfolio. Honestly, I cannot call this a mature political decision.

Yeltsin Aide Urges Aim of 'Common Consent'

PM1611161192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Nov 92 First Edition pp 1, 2

[Interview with Yuriy Petrov, leader of the Russian President's Administration, by Valentin Logunov, chief editor of ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, place and date not given: "Do Not Ignite the Spark of Confrontation"]

[Text] Yuriy Petrov has known every degree of attention from the press and various social forces—from total silence to heightened interest and disparaging criticism. I wanted to know what lies at the basis of such attention paid to one of Boris Yeltsin's comrades in arms.

[Logunov] Yuriy Vladimirovich, how do you assess this long and persistent attempt by certain individuals and mass media to set you and the president against one another? My personal view is that this is a deliberate attempt to destroy what seems to me a natural union, because you and Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin have worked together for a long time now.

[Petrov] Yes, we have indeed known each other well for a long time.

I took up my present post at the president's invitation and I have given the job the utmost effort and responsibility. As for the unwarranted press attention, even that can be understood. We have been through some extremely turbulent events since August last year when I first entered on duty.

My arrival here has been viewed in various ways, of course, because I have a record of professional party work behind me. After graduating I worked for just one year at a plant and then rose through many levels of party work: I began as head of a rayon committee department, then I was first secretary of Sverdlovsk Oblast party committee, and ambassador to Cuba for three years. Generally speaking my appointment to Yeltsin's team was a surprise to many people, me included.

I quite accept that my appointment was not to some people's liking, perhaps some people were hoping for this job themselves. It is hard for me to judge that. I can only say one thing—it was quite difficult working my way into the job and mastering my new duties. Especially since the structure of the president's administration and its place and role were just being formed at that time. Even now that process is far from complete.

[Logunov] Surely the wish of some figures to get closer to the president and influence him was due not so much to a desire to share with him his enormous responsibility to the people as to a desire to achieve their own political aims with his help.

[Petrov] I think that to some extent that is indeed so. Although it is also true that the majority of the president's team are working not for the sake of their careers but because they sincerely want to devote all their strength and experience to helping him in his difficult work.

As for the desire of some people to get closer to the president and be in contact with him more often, that is not in my character. I think that everyone must clearly understand his own duties and responsibilities and not waste the president's time. I, for example, never phone the president unnecessarily and never contact him on a matter that I can settle myself. If I can resolve it myself I simply do that. I have one hour a week, my "legitimate" hour, as I call it. I prepare for this conversation meticulously, and I try to discuss as succinctly as possible only those questions that I cannot resolve myself without the president's approval.

But certain people—and there are quite a few of them—believe that their questions are the most urgent, the most important, and that their opinion is the most correct. You have to explain and often say no, and this causes misunderstanding and resentment.

[Logunov] But, Yuriy Vladimirovich, these calls and slogans of "Down with Petrov!" emanating from Democratic Russia and extreme radical circles... They create the impression that the attacks on the administration chief are coordinated. By whom?

[Petrov] By the "RF-Politika" center, for example. In a recent "analytical" piece of libel and then at a news conference its representatives virtually demanded my resignation. Admittedly, the range of people whom they consider to be impeding the reforms was considerably broadened and now even includes the president.

I sometimes want to ask "analysts" such as these what they have done in life, who they are, and, most importantly, what aims they are pursuing.

I consider myself a professional administrator, since that is what I was in the so-called "party nomenklatura" in the past, because party organs essentially fulfilled the functions of state management.

Therefore I perceive the attacks on the so-called "partyocrats" and on me personally as an attempt to combat professional administrators at various levels of power, the majority of whom have sincerely accepted the ideas of reforming society and work to promote them. The unfounded calls for resignations and the ban on certain professions, on the one hand, are insulting to honest people and, on the other, can only destabilize the situation, thereby aggravating the far from simple state of

affairs in society and, thus, will not accelerate but slow down the reforms if not kill them off.

[Logunov] Yet people are saying that this notorious "RF-Politika" center is run by Gennadiy Burbulis. I do not understand why the president tolerates that, does he not see this destructive work?

[Petrov] I cannot say who is running the group but the fact that it is pursuing a certain political line is obvious to me. But... may it all be on the conscience of those who are doing this. I have not become involved in squabbles and I do not intend to. I have a specific mandate from the president to ensure the normal operation of all the administration's subdivisions, and I am doing that. I can say that in the past year, despite all the difficulties, I have managed to establish the more or less smooth working of the apparatus and rebuild the links that were broken. A certain system has developed, things have been imbedded. We are actively introducing computers and the scientific organization of work, we are training the apparatus and we are carefully selecting staff to work in it.

[Logunov] Your views on the reforms are also being criticized. In a recent publication in the weekly ROSSIYA, one writer even attempted to analyze your comments over the year. As a result he concluded that you are a convinced conservative and are doing everything possible to reverse Yeltsin's reforms.

[Petrov] And again demanded that the president dismiss Petrov without delay. But that is in the past, and there is no need to engage in polemics. I have repeatedly stated my centrist positions. From the very outset I advocated and constantly advocate consolidation and common sense—in both the economy and foreign and domestic policy. I believe that we should not rush into the market. That will take years of determined work. Right now everything must be done to ensure that when making the transition from one system—the plan and directive-based economy—to another—the market economy—we avoid the kind of dangerous change of course that simply throws us all overboard. I have seen enough of the world and I know that we cannot achieve in the old society the kind of results that we can achieve in market conditions.

I have never hidden my position on that and I do not do so now.

Let us see which people and forces are at the center of the consolidation that is taking place. They are Civic Union and the centrist bloc in the Supreme Soviet. I am glad that the healthy forces in society are beginning to consolidate at last. And I am sure that those people, whoever they are, who are trying to inflame and undermine the situation will not succeed in doing so. But the centrists must maintain their vigilance now, of course.

[Logunov] The presidential administration and the government apparatus... Things are not all coordinated and tuned as well as they might be there. Forgive me for using a soccer term, but this is the twin center forward tactic.

However, there is a third center of influence—the state secretary, with his own apparatus attached to the president's office. Often they are not all playing in the same direction, to put it mildly.

[Petrov] I would put the question more broadly—it is a question of mutual relations involving the whole system of the supreme organs of state power and management. After all, each has its own tasks, its own playing field and rules, to use a sporting metaphor, and its own responsibility, too.

Let us take the Supreme Soviet. It very often generates correct impulses because people working in the electoral districts meet with voters more often and have a better knowledge of life and its present problems and burdens.

There is a second side—the government. It must clarify its position and show and explain why it has to adopt unpopular decisions. It must defend those decisions, and that is quite difficult. In addition, there are teething troubles, formative problems. After all, our government is very young.

The people who have joined the government do not, as a rule, have the experience of practical economic and state work.

[Logunov] Until recently I used to call it "departmental [kafedralnoye] government," that is, a government formed from one department [kafedra]. That description no longer applies now, it is true.

[Petrov] You know, these people are enthusiasts, they are dedicated, they are trying to do more things as quickly as possible. However, because they lack the experience they often simply cannot find the right approach, they cannot explain, prove, convince, or carry people along with them. That is so very important today. Personal qualities play a part, too, of course.

[Logunov] Does it not seem to you that some of those people who entered the government and the presidential structures a year ago have done a lot of harm? I get the feeling that they ignited the spark of confrontation between the government, the president, and the Supreme Soviet.

[Petrov] I think that these are more to do with growing pains and the lack of the necessary political experience, indeed of tried and tested mechanisms for cooperation. Everything is still settling in. Undoubtedly personal qualities play a part, too. But I would not seek evil intent there.

[Logunov] I am sorry to insist on this, but in my view the confrontation between the president and the Supreme Soviet is particularly dangerous. This is the beginning of a tragedy. There is a coordinated campaign of persecution against the chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

I think that these two men, and I mean here Yeltsin and Khasbulatov, bore the burden of the first year on their own shoulders, they withstood colossal pressure from the

old center, the putsch, and the post-putsch period. Then suddenly—a split. What is going on? Perhaps they have changed, both of them? Have they become different people with different aspirations? Perhaps one has become more of a democrat, the other more of a partyocrat.

[Petrov] That is surely not the point. Great trust means first and foremost the great responsibility of the leaders you are talking about and leaders at lower levels. They are obliged to weigh up every word that they utter and every step that they take. Unfortunately Ruslan Imranovich—and I respect him—makes mistakes and says things which, to put it mildly, do him no credit. He is, after all, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of an enormous country and therefore, no matter how much people sometimes irritate him, he must always find within himself the strength to stay cool and answer with dignity, politeness, and respect.

I, like you, have the impression that the campaign against him is coordinated. I also agree that it is counterproductive. It is axiomatic that closer contacts need to be achieved among all leaders both at the very top and lower down. Those who hinder this process are doing the state a disservice. There is much work to do in this regard, of course, and I think that on the eve of the Congress and at the Congress itself everyone who is going to speak there should weigh up the consequences as carefully as possible first.

[Logunov] Of course they must refrain from dubious expressions or rejoinders—that is absolutely obvious. But I have something else in mind. People are now accusing the Supreme Soviet of having “moved to the right,” saying that the present Supreme Soviet is not what it was a year ago. I think it is equally dangerous when people create the image of a very democratic president and government and the image of a very conservative Supreme Soviet and Congress. These conflicting images are being deliberately exploited: right and left, right and wrong, partyocrat and democrat.

[Petrov] Hence the movement toward the center. The tragic division of society into “us” and “them” is regrettably typical of us. Now, too, certain forces are trying to take advantage of that. As for the Supreme Soviet: Yes, it has changed during its period of work. But in which direction has it moved? Deputies have matured somewhat, they have gained experience. They are seeking answers to the questions that life and their voters place before them. But no one has a monopoly of the ultimate truth, and every viewpoint must at least be listened to respectfully.

Of course, very many harsh comments have been made. Members of the Supreme Soviet have different levels of experience and different outlooks, and that is perfectly natural. There must be a resultant force. On the whole, it seems to me, that this resultant force tends more toward the constructive than the destructive. That is confirmed

by the recent session of the parliamentary Reform Coalition, which outlined concrete steps aimed at achieving agreement among the various forces among the deputies on the crucial questions of the approaching Congress. I believe that those deputies in the coalition who are calling for closer contacts with the centrist bloc in parliament and with Civic Union are right. A way out of the crisis must be found by joint efforts.

There is another point. In my view there is no single question on which the president and the parliament cannot find a mutually acceptable agreement. Remember how the parliament supported the decision on the introduction of a state of emergency in North Ossetia and Ingushetiya—a decision with serious consequences for the lives of many people. It needs weighty arguments, political will, and the desire to resolve complex problems as effectively as possible. Much here will also depend on how the president's “team” works.

Why did parliament reject the president's request to postpone the Seventh Congress? I could cite many reasons, but I shall dwell on one. The request was not supported by prior explanatory and organizational work. They thought it sufficient merely to read the request out at a session and it would all be clear to everyone. They were wrong... This is a good lesson. I think that we simply do not have the right to go to parliament with questions that have only a minimal chance of success. We have to protect the reputation of the country's first president elected by all the people.

Everything must now be done to ensure that the executive and the legislature implement the accords, albeit not enshrined in documents, which were achieved at Cheboksary. Confrontation between the executive and the legislature is disastrous.

I do not believe that the Supreme Soviet is inflaming the situation artificially. It is good that a counterweight to the government's actions is appearing. This means that there is greater likelihood of choosing the right path. However, this does not mean that the Supreme Soviet and government organs should locally monitor every step that the executive takes. It is necessary to monitor the strategy. The Supreme Soviet's main task is to create a legal area that supports the reforms. After all, a very long time is often spent on the examination of laws, but we have yet to make a start on elaborating many extremely necessary laws. The maximum efforts should be focused on that.

[Logunov] I would like to have your opinion on a particularly acute question. What do you think of the request from the leaders of the republics for a postponement of the Congress? It is well known that the republics are working actively on their own constitutions. The drafts of a number of constitutions provide no evidence that they are based on the idea of preserving the federal state. Perhaps Boris Nikolayevich needs the time between now and March to promote the reforms still further and sort things out with the government himself.

Perhaps, too, the leaders of the republics need that time to adopt their own constitutions—which will then be difficult to combine with the Russian Constitution, will they not?

[Petrov] When the Federation Council was abolished last year without really starting work, that was a big mistake. Furthermore, I know very well that it was done under pressure from certain ambitious forces.

The president's and government's system of work is still evolving. The most complex processes are developing in the territories. They include the preparation of constitutions. The decision on the creation of a Council of Leaders of the Republics with the participation of the Supreme Soviet and government leaders was right, in my view. Just as here, when discussing and clarifying positions on a multilateral or bilateral basis, it is possible to avoid unnecessary and hasty steps both by individual republics and by Moscow.

Well, the new Russian Federation Constitution is still not actually ready.

[Logunov] But in my view there is a sensible proposal here: The December Congress could adopt some amendments to the existing Constitution to ensure the progress of the economic and political reforms, and a special Congress could be convened in March to adopt the new Constitution. This sensible suggestion is being ignored, and the idea that the Congress is being convened in December to attack the reforms is being exploited to the utmost. Once again it is being suggested that Gaydar and his supporters are reformers whereas Khasbulatov and the Congress, which want to revive the command economy, are conservatives. It seems to me that even those who repeatedly claim that this arrangement of interests exists do not believe it themselves.

[Petrov] I can only repeat what I have already said: There must be a search for compromise. The Supreme Soviet has adopted a decision. That is one opinion. Why can others, say the leaders of the republics, not express their opinion? After all, they are no less well aware than Supreme Soviet deputies of the economic and sociopolitical situation in their own republics.

So I say over and again: What we need is not a kindling of passions nor mutual recriminations, especially not in public; what we need is a principled search for common consent.

Conflict Between Chechen, Russian Troops Continues

Chechnya Seeks Cooperation With Georgia

OW1411153692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1358 GMT 14 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with INTERFAX a leader of the Georgian National Democratic Party and a member of the Georgian Parliament Irakli Kadagishvili said that, in the view of Chechen leader Dzhokar Dudayev, political stability in the Caucasus required good relations with Georgia and the Chechen Republic was willing to promote good relations with Georgia. Irakli Kadagishvili visited the Chechen capital Grozny a few days ago. He met with Dzhokar Dudayev.

The Georgian MP [member of parliament] quoted Dudayev as saying that understanding between his republic and Georgia would spell an end to the Russian colonial strategy for the Caucasus. The Chechen leader felt a treaty between his republic and Georgia would help settle the Abkhazian conflict.

The Chechen leader took a critical approach to the Abkhazian moves to join Russia. According to what Kadagishvili told INTERFAX, Dudayev had objected to the dispatch of Chechen recruits to Abkhazia. But the Confederation of the Caucasian Peoples had pressed him for the dispatch.

Irakli Kadagishvili quoted Dudayev as saying there remained no more than 40 Chechen recruits in Abkhazia.

Dudayev Blames, Warns N. Ossetian Leaders

LD1311195992 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1815 GMT 13 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Grozny, 13 Nov—Chechen President Dzhokar Dudayev this evening signed a statement by the republic's government in which the whole blame for the acute worsening of the situation in the region is placed on the N. Ossetian leadership. They are accused of being guilty of "calling in the Russian troops which are using the territory of N. Ossetia as a bridgehead for aggression against Chechnya". The statement says that if the Russian troops are not withdrawn from N. Ossetia, the Chechen Government "reserves the right to review relations with N. Ossetia and take retaliatory measures."

Dzhokar Dudayev today held a closed meeting with the military. This afternoon a closed meeting of the republic's Defense Council was held.

Imposes Martial Law in West

LD1411160892 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1425 GMT 14 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Grozny, 14 Nov (TASS)—General Dzhokar Dudayev, commander in chief of the Chechen Republic's Armed Forces, has declared the western part of Chechnya including the lands of Sunzhenskiy and Achkhoy-Martanovskiy rayons a "special defense zone."

It is there that for five days now Chechen armed formations have been confronting Russian troops. Martial law was introduced there today by order of Dudayev.

The same order has appointed the commanders of the western group of Chechen armed formations and set up a Defense Council comprising members of the Chechen parliament and representatives of the executive authority, to whom all the local authorities in this territory have been subordinated "until the total withdrawal of the occupying troops."

"Measures to restrict the activities of Russia's troops in the occupied territory," the document says, "are to be announced in a separate order and notified to the Command of the Russian occupying troops."

In connection with the aggravated situation particular concern is being shown by Chechnya's 300,000-strong Russian population, who are frightened of finding themselves in the position of hostages.

Says Russians Plan To Occupy Chechnya

LD1411145592 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1403 GMT 14 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Grozny November 14 TASS—Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev accused Russia today of preparations for the occupation of the whole Chechen Republic, speaking at a conference of the Chechen international committee on human rights in Grozny.

Substantiating his forecast, the Chechen leader said "the Russian leadership continues to concentrate forces, including a large amount of APCs and operative-tactical Scud missiles, on the whole Chechen perimeter". He called on the republican residents "to be ready to fulfill their duty on protection of the motherland". On Friday the Chechen president visited Nazran to meet plenipotentiary of the temporary administration in Ingushetiya General Ruslan Aushev.

Today Dudayev signed a statement of his government addressed to the heads of neighbouring Dagestan. "The Chechen Government has irrefutable information a large group of Russian troops, getting ready for an aggression against the Chechen Republic, is concentrating on Dagestan territory," says the statement.

The Friday Nazran meeting between regional temporary administration head Sergey Shakhrai and representatives of the Chechen parliament did not bring "any easing of the tense situation in the Chechen Republic," in the opinion of the Chechen side. Chairman of the Chechen State Committee on Information and Press Movladi Udugov told ITAR-TASS today Shakhrai guaranteed nothing, referring to the unofficial character of the meeting.

In response the Chechen side said "in case of continued aggression against the Chechen Republic, it will have to

announce the universal mobilization of male republican population in the near hours to repulse the Russian troops", he said.

According to the information of the Chechen Government, the U.S. Embassy in Moscow recalled its representatives from Grozny in a short time. Chechen mass media carries statements and appeals of public-political organizations and labor collectives "denouncing the introduction of Russian troops on territory of the sovereign republic".

Russian Tanks Said Approaching Chechen Troops

LD1411172292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1552 GMT 14 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Grozny November 14 TASS—Head of the Chechen State Committee on Information and Press Movladi Udugov told ITAR-TASS today the Russian troops "tried to break the defence of Chechen armed units" in the area of the Sernovodskaya settlement. The official referred to witnesses.

In his words, a tank column located in the Sernovodskaya area moved towards the Chechen positions but was met by crowds of local residents. The column failed to clean the road and returned to its positions.

With this report the Chechen Government representative again confirmed repeated allegations of the republican heads the Russian troops are ready for occupation of the Chechen Republic.

In the afternoon ethnic Russian women living in the Chechen Republic held a rally in front of the government house in Grozny. They demanded that the Russian Government "immediately stop the insanity, stop accumulating forces in the region and solve all problems at the negotiations table".

Chechen Parliament Urges 'Reserve'

OW1411173092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1713 GMT 14 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An enlarged session of the Chechen parliament—including the heads of regional administrations and members of the cabinet—has been held today, Saturday, in Grozny. The majority urged reserve in assessing the events in the adjacent districts of Ingushetiya and warned against any hasty decisions. All hopes are pinned on the process of negotiations.

Meanwhile, by reports from the North Ossetian capital Vladikavkaz, the situation on the front-line between the Russian troops and Chechen units remains tense on the border between the Chechen and Ingush republics. No armed clashes took place, however.

Chechen spokesmen, including the deputy speaker of the Chechen parliament Mahomet Gushakayev, are talking in Nazran with the leaders of the provisional administration of North Ossetia and Ingushetiya on withdrawing Russian troops from the Chechen borders. The results are not yet known.

Parliament Head on Relations

LD1411204692 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1938
GMT 14 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow November 14 TASS—Chechen parliament head Khuseyn Akhmadov has called for the preservation of "equal horizontal and not vertical-vassal relations with Russia", as well as "the principle of border transparency" in an ITAR-TASS interview.

The official, currently in Moscow at the invitation of the Ostankino TV Company, expressed profound concern over the development of the situation in the Northern Caucasus, primarily in the Ossetian-Ingush conflict area.

In order to normalize the situation, it is, first of all, necessary to withdraw Russian troops, and then sit down at the negotiations table to involve all interesting sides, including Russia, said Akhmadov.

"Only this way of search for a peaceful conflict settlement and not military confrontation is now acceptable," he believes. The Chechen parliament head pins certain hopes for the solution of the military confrontation of the two highlanders' peoples on Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy.

Akhmadov denounced calls of some politicians from the Confederation of Caucasian Highlanders on mobilization of volunteers "to repulse Russia". However, in his opinion, "the prestige of Russia itself" is dropping in the Northern Caucasus due to the striving of some Russian politicians to solve all disputable issues by force.

"The Russian leadership must finally understand, when defending its own interests in the Caucasus, they must primarily proceed from the principle of respect to the sovereignty of peoples of small number," he said.

Chechen Minister: Conflict Can Be Settled

LD1511180692 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1740
GMT 15 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Grozny November 15 TASS—Foreign Minister of the Chechen Republic Shamsouddin Yusef expressed conviction during Sunday's ITAR-TASS interview that contacts to settle the conflict will be conclusive.

Together with Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for Foreign Affairs Yusup Soslambekov and First Deputy Foreign Minister Ruslan Abdurazakov, Yusef is taking part in the contacts between the sides which were

started last night by a meeting between the head of the provisional administration of Northern Ossetia and Ingushetiya Sergey Shakhrai and representatives of Chechnya. Consultations with Ingush leaders were conducted by First Vice President of Chechnya Yariy Mamodayev. The Chechen republic, he said, always spoke out in favour of the peaceful solution of any problems.

On Sunday the ITAR-TASS correspondent visited the zone of conflict between Russian and Chechen troops. Interviews with representatives of both sides indicated that they agreed that the territorial dispute cannot be solved by means of force. Well-armed people from both sides want politicians to sit down at the negotiating table as soon as possible and to defuse this volatile situation.

Troops Disengagement Postponed

LD1611113892 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1059
GMT 16 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tofik Asuyev]

[Text] Grozny November 16 TASS—The Sunday incident when the guards of Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev disarmed eight Russian soldiers delayed the disengagement of Russian and Chechen units which was agreed yesterday and was to begin at 1000 hours local time [0700 GMT] on Monday.

This is the second time that the disengagement is delayed. The first time Russian troops remained at their positions after heavily armed Chechen units advanced to them right before the planned removal of troops.

Chechens are split in their attitude to the Sunday shootout which was followed by seizure of hostages.

The incident is being discussed by an emergency meeting of the Chechen Parliament, by the Council of Elders and the congress of the Chechen people, the Vainakh Party and other public movements.

Some people support Dudayev's actions, while others qualify them as "a provocation of those who wish a major war".

The Ingush people called on all Chechens to "refrain from disputes on any questions in this complicated and tragic time and to remember that we shall solve all disputes as brothers", according to an appeal made public in Grozny on Monday.

To prevent a possible aggravation of the situation Chechen Deputy Prime Minister Yariy Mamodayev and Deputy Head of the temporary administration in Ingushetiya Ruslan Ashuyev proclaimed a moratorium on the discussion of the border issue between Ingushetiya and Chechnya until the situation fully stabilises in the region.

Ingushetiya and Chechnya had common borders when they were united in the Chechen-Ingush Republic within

Russia. However, Ingushetiya remained without a statehood and borders after Chechnya proclaimed independence and the republic broke in two parts. The Chechen leadership believes the border between the two tiny republics should go along the 1934 frontier.

Dudayev 'Possibly' Approved Shooting Incident

LD1611055192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0345 GMT 16 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy November 16 TASS—Sunday's shooting incident between Russian and Chechen troops "was possibly sanctioned by Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev". This comment was made on Groznyy television by Yaragiy Mamodayev, first vice president of Chechnya, and Aslanbek Aslakhanov, chairman a committee [as received] of the Russian parliament.

Mamodayev, in particular, said that immediately after the release of captured Russian officers and soldiers, a total of 11 people, he talked to them. The latter were convinced that they saw Dudayev in one of the cars used to take Russian soldiers hostage. This fact was confirmed by Aslakhanov who said that those Russian soldiers saw Dudayev on many occasions on photos and on television and could not make a mistake. The arrival of Dudayev at this time in the conflict zone was confirmed, according to Mamodayev and Aslakhanov, by representatives of Chechen armed groups.

It also became known that one Russian soldier was wounded in the shootout and was rushed to Vladikavkaz. Two Chechen traffic police were also wounded when escorting the Chechen delegation from the village Ordzhonikidzevskaya with the signed protocol of the agreement on troops withdrawal.

Dudayev Denies Accusations

LD1611055592 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0346 GMT 16 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy November 16 TASS—President of the Chechen Republic Dzhokhar Dudayev flatly denied accusations that he sanctioned Sunday's incident between Russian and Chechen troops.

He made this statement over Groznyy television but admitted that he was present at the site of the incident. According to Dudayev, he made on Sunday a fact-finding trip to the emergency area and his car was stopped by a Russian post which was set up on Chechen soil. The Russian soldiers, Dudayev said, not only refused to let the president's car pass but also prepared to shoot. In these circumstances, Dudayev claims, his guards took the necessary measures. They took weapons from soldiers and let them go.

Shakhray Blames Dudayev for Confrontation

LD1611153992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1330 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] Commenting on President Dudayev's claim that he never authorized anyone to negotiate and sign the protocol on disengagement of forces, Sergey Shakhray, who is in Vladikavkaz, has pinned all the blame on the leadership of the Chechen Republic for the consequences of the confrontation between troops on both sides.

Chechens Free Soldiers; Shakhray Issues Protocol

OW1611143992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Eight Russian soldiers detained by Chechens on Sunday on the line of demarcation between the armed forces of Russia and Chechnya were released on the evening of the same day. Informed sources in Vladikavkaz report that this took place after the return to Groznyy of a Chechen delegation led by Chechen Vice Premier Yaragiy Mamodayev, which had been detained by Russian forces in response to the seizure of their soldiers. The delegation had been carrying on negotiations in Nazran with Sergey Shakhray, the head of the provisional administration for the state of emergency. During the meeting, an agreement was reached on the withdrawal of Russian and Chechen forces to positions eight kilometers from the line of demarcation between them.

At the same time, according to informed sources in Groznyy, Chechen Deputy Minister of Security Alovdi Musayev and Ruslan Shamayev, a member of the executive political committee of the National Congress of Chechen People, remained the hostages of the Russian forces.

According to information from the press center of the head of the provisional administration for the state of emergency in Ingushetiya and North Ossetia, the Russian soldiers were taken hostage south of the population center of Sernovodsk during an attack on a military post by a group of armed individuals, including Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev. The attackers managed to disarm the soldiers since they had been given orders "under no circumstances to allow themselves to be provoked or to return fire." A reserve group of Russian soldiers who arrived to provide assistance were fired upon, as a result of which one soldier was seriously wounded.

In addition, INTERFAX was informed by knowledgeable sources in Groznyy that the Russian soldiers were disarmed and taken hostage after they prevented the passage of Dudayev's entourage, which was carrying out "an inspection." According to this information, during the incident, two of Dudayev's guards were wounded.

The attack on the Russian post and the wounding of the soldier forced Sergey Shakhrai, the emergency administrator, to institute the protocol on the separation of Russian and Chechen forces, according to his press service.

In an announcement to the press on Monday, Shakhrai emphasized that the separation of the forces "had to be carried out" after the liquidation of the consequences of the incident. He also expressed the opinion that Dudayev's announcement on Chechen television on Sunday that he had not empowered anyone to conduct negotiations or sign an agreement on the separation of forces might turn out to be an obstacle to the fulfillment of the agreement. Shakhrai said that the Chechens would carry "all the responsibility" for the consequences of continuing fighting between the forces in the event that Dudayev's statement was affirmed.

Meanwhile, Grozny sent a communique to Shakhrai's address placing responsibility for the incident on the Russians, saying that they had "a disrespectful attitude" toward the Chechen president.

Only Chechen Parliament May Declare War

LD1611153592 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1507 GMT 16 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Grozny November 16 TASS—Sunday's incident with the disarming of Russian servicemen and the detaining of the Chechen delegation was the focal point of a discussion at an emergency session of the Chechen parliament. The session adopted a resolution saying "the parliament of the Chechen Republic believes that not all peaceful methods of the negotiating process have been exhausted to avoid a military conflict." Referring to a provision of the Chechen Constitution, according to which a state of war may be declared only by the supreme legislative body of the country, the parliament decided: "Any actions by an official who is the first to give an order to start military actions before an appropriate decision is made by the parliament of the Chechen Republic, shall be considered a crime against the people and security of the republic."

According to unnamed well-informed sources, Yusup Soslanbekov, chairman of the Chechen Parliamentary Committee for Foreign Affairs, will leave for Moscow on Tuesday to meet Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Tensions Remain High in N. Ossetia, Ingushetiya

Yeltsin Decrees Emergency Boundaries

LD1411125492 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1152 GMT 14 Nov 92

[Text] Moscow November 14 TASS—With due regard for a decision of the Russian parliament Presidium on ensuring the state-of-emergency arrangements on the territory of the North Ossetian and Ingush republics,

President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation fixed temporary boundaries of the territory covered by state-of-emergency regulations. The boundaries have no status of an official border.

An official border between the Ingush and Chechen republics will be determined through negotiations between them, the Russian president's press service announced.

Units that are temporary stationed on the territory of Ingushetiya have been assigned a task of fully ensuring compliance with state-of-emergency regulations, precluding the possibility of armed conflicts or proliferation of weapons, of creating conditions for the restoration of administration procedure and ensuring state and public security.

Issues Edict on Media Coverage

PM1311214192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Nov 92 First Edition p 5

[Edict No. 1,349 of the Russian Federation president "On Coverage of Events in the Region of the State of Emergency by the Mass Media," dated 11 November 1992 and signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin]

[Text] For the purpose of preventing the dissemination of false information which prevents the stabilization of the situation in the region of the state of emergency and exacerbates interethnic relations in the North Ossetian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and the Ingush Republic, on the basis of Point "b" of Article 23 of the RSFSR Law of 17 May 1991 "On the State of Emergency" I decree:

1. Journalists accredited to the Interim Administration on the territories of the North Ossetian SSR and the Ingush Republic are to be permitted to enter the region of the state of emergency.

2. The Interim Administration on the territories of the North Ossetian SSR and the Ingush Republic is to be permitted to temporarily sequester printed products until the state of emergency is lifted.

3. The Interim Administration on the territories of the North Ossetian SSR and the Ingush Republic is to be permitted to temporarily confiscate sound-amplifying technical facilities and duplicating equipment.

4. In accordance with Part 2 of Article 48 of the Russian Federation Law "On the Mass Media," the Interim Administration on the territories of the North Ossetian SSR and the Ingush Republic is to approve within three days the rules for accrediting journalists, as well as rules governing journalists' movements and ensuring their safety in the region of the state of emergency.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin

[Dated] 11 November 1992

Shakhrai Holds Talks With Leaders

LD1311232292 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2220 GMT 13 Nov 92

[Text] Moscow, 14 Nov (ITAR-TASS)—Sergey Shakhrai, head of the interim administration for the North Ossetian Soviet Socialist Republic [as received] and the Ingush Republic, held talks on Friday 13 November with the leadership of North Ossetia in Vladikavkaz, and with the leadership of Ingushetiya in Nazran, the press center of the interim administration reports. People's deputies of the Russian Federation took part in the meetings.

The talks were devoted to problems connected with the exchange of hostages, the return of refugees to their place of permanent residence, ensuring public and state security, the provision of food and warm clothing to the population, and the organization of medical assistance.

A sitting of the interim administration held on the same day examined the enforcement of the curfew, ways to combat looting, and other crimes.

Ingush Accuses MVD of Aiding Ossetians

MK1611125592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Nov 92 p 3

[NEGA report under the general heading "North Ossetia"]

[Text] S. Bekov, chairman of the Moscow public committee for the state of emergency in Ingushetiya, has sent an appeal to the Russian Federation general prosecutor, security minister, and internal affairs minister. It states, in particular:

"Gunmen from the so-called 'peacekeeping battalion' in South Ossetia, who infiltrated sovereign Russian territory via the Rokskiy pass (guarded by Russian internal troops), have been and are actively participating in the Ossetian-Ingush conflict and in operations against the civilian Ingush population. There is also evidence that a large quantity of stolen property has been moved into South Ossetia through this pass.

"This information shows, first, that Russian internal troops are directly participating in the aforesaid acts on the Ossetian side and, second, that the sovereignty of the Russian Federation, whose borders are being violated by Georgian citizens, is being violated.

"We ask you to investigate these facts and institute proceedings against the guilty parties."

Ingush Casualties Mount

OW1411153892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1358 GMT 14 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the Ingush Republic's press center, occasional firing has been continuing in the zone of the

Ossetian-Ingush conflict. Thus, an ambulance was attacked on Friday on its way from Sunji to Ali-Yurt, the driver and a doctor from Moscow being killed. On Thursday a group of Red Cross vehicles was attacked near the village of Kartsa, as a result of which two of the wounded Ingushes the vehicles were carrying were killed, and one person was wounded.

According to the press center's preliminary figures, between 2,000 and 3,000 Ingushes had died or were missing by November 13, and the number of Ingushes who had fled Vladikavkaz and North Ossetia's Prigorodnyy District reached 30,000. Many of them have taken refuge in the village of Jeirakh high in the mountains, where medicines and food are in desperately short supply. The situation there has become particularly grave after the Ossetians blew up the bridge across the river Terek linking Jeirakh with neighboring villages. Food can now be brought to Jeirakh and refugees evacuated from it only by air.

According to the Russian Interior Ministry's public relations center, two armored personnel carriers manned by soldiers from Russian interior troops have been sent to guard the refugees as they are evacuated from Jeirakh to Nazran. According to the press service of the Russian State Committee for Emergencies, 2,500 Ingushes have already left Jeirakh.

The Russian Interior Ministry's public relations center has also reported that early this morning unidentified individuals fired at the guard post of the Vladikavkaz Interior Troops college. The guards fired back suppressing the attack. There were no casualties among the guards.

The Ingushes and Ossetians exchanged hostages again on Friday, the Ingushes releasing 19 people, the Ossetians, 21.

According to the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet's commission on hostage exchange, altogether 1,248 Ingush hostages and 542 Ossetian ones have been released.

Ossetians Accused of Moving Refugees

OW1511140692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1334 GMT 15 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press service of the Ingush Republic reports that most of the Ingush refugees were removed from Jarakh Canyon where about 15,000 people had gathered since the beginning of the conflict, largely from Vladikavkaz and the villages of Yuzhnyy, Chernorechenskoye, Terk and others.

According to the press service, at the refugee camps the Ossetians pick the healthiest and best-educated Ingush males and transfer them to South Ossetia across the Rock Pass. The Ingush Republic's commandant's office believes that some 400 Ingush hostages are now in South Ossetia.

The incident involving reporters from the American CNN [Cable News Network] company ended satisfactorily, despite the earlier information from Nazran. The company's office in Moscow told IF [INTERFAX] that two of their staffers were detained by the Ossetians when they unwittingly crossed the line which divided the zones controlled by the Ingushes and Ossetians, while making a film on the plight of the refugees. Both were taken to Vladikavkaz and subsequently freed.

Earlier reports from Nazran said that the reporters were detained together with a group of relatives of the killed Ingushes near the village of Yuzhnyy, and taken in an unknown direction.

Gunfire, Attacks Reported in N. Ossetia

OW1511170792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1647
GMT 15 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] There are incidents of sporadic gunfire and terrorist attacks in North Ossetia, IF [INTERFAX] correspondent in Vladikavkaz reports. He says that there is tension between Russian troops and local irregulars who were disarmed because of failing to produce weapons licenses.

Despite censorship, reports coming from the region, now under emergency regulations, are contradictory. The North Ossetian authorities have denied an Ingush report saying that about 100 Ingushis who came under escort by Russian troops to identify and bury the dead bodies of their relatives killed in action outside the Yuzhny village were taken hostage by Ossetian irregulars on Saturday.

However, the Ossetian authorities admitted to the incident taking place. They said the Ingushes had been there before only to be told there were no dead bodies either at Yuzhny or Chernorechensk villages. When the Ingushes arrived again, this time escorted by Russian armoured vehicles, they were searched by Ossetian irregulars who spoke of finding two guns and an explosive device on them. Apart from CNN reporters and Russian soldiers, all of them were detained until further clarification.

The Ossetian side says the Russian soldiers escorting a group of Ingushes took orders from Nazran which were not coordinated either with North Ossetia's security or interior ministries or with the headquarters of Ossetian irregular forces.

IF correspondent referring to an aide to Russian Vice Premier Sergey Shakhrai says that all reporters covering the regional conflict must get accreditation with the interim administration until Monday or face being banned to work there, with their equipment seized.

State of Emergency Generally Observed

LD1611094592 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0859
GMT 16 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz November 16 TASS—The state of emergency is being observed in general in North Ossetia, however the situation in Vladikavkaz and the Prigorodnyy District remains tense. Shootings were registered overnight in villages freed from Ingush militants and in the outskirts of Vladikavkaz. No casualties were reported, according to the Security Council of North Ossetia.

No Ossetian hostages were released by Ingushes on Sunday. Ossetians believe some 200 hostages are still kept by the opposing side, while Ingushes say that 400 of their people are detained by Ossetians. TASS learned from the temporary administration on Monday which added that the exchange of hostages is going on very slowly.

Military Issues

Defense Minister Grachev Comments on Current Issues

Denies Planning Coup, 'Invasion' of Chechnya

LD1411212992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya
Ostankino Television First Program Network in
Russian 1800 GMT 14 Nov 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent Sergey Dorenko] In an interview for first channel news, Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev energetically denied Deputy Andronov's accusation that he intends to play a key role in a coup d'etat. Whether this gives you cause for rejoicing or regret, Grachev is not planning on dissolving parliament.

[Begin Grachev recording] As far as Deputy Andronov's speech is concerned, I will say that this is a blatant provocation and a lie. It seems to me that such people have one aim: to draw our Army into political games, as has often been the case; to discredit the military leadership of the Russian Army; and to impede the military reforms that have begun. I consider the deputy's slanderous statement to be yet another attempt to bring society to a boiling point and, what is worse, to split the Army, which at the present time remains one of the guarantors of stability in society. At the same time, I want to say that I am ready to meet that authentic source from the Kremlin that Deputy Andronov talked about, in the presence of all the deputies at the next Supreme Soviet session. [end recording]

[Correspondent Svetlichnyy] The minister believes that at present there can be no question of the introduction of a state of emergency throughout the country. However,

the reality is that the situation in regions where people are dying and blood is being shed demands extraordinary measures. Pavel Grachev said that the task of the Russian military in South Ossetia and Ingushetiya includes guarding especially important state and military installations and blocking groups and formations. He denied the claim that Russian troops were participating on anyone's side. The minister noted that the entry of Russian units into Ingushetian territory from North Ossetia is explained by the fact that the region contains the only airfield, Beslan, close to Vladikavkaz and capable of receiving troops.

[Begin Grachev recording] Obviously, the question of Chechnya's concern about the invasion of their territory by Russian troops, as they call it, is relevant here—that allegedly an air operation, a tank penetration, and other actions are being prepared there. I am telling you frankly that no plans whatsoever have been worked out, are being worked out, or will be worked out in this regard. And let the Chechen people and leaders live peacefully and not worry. [end recording]

Rejects Rumors on Dissolving Parliament

LD1311184392 Moscow *ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian* 1812 GMT 13 Nov 92

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Nov—Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian defense minister, has termed an "invention and provocative" the statement by Russian People's Deputy Iona Andronov on the supposed preparations for dissolving the Russian Supreme Soviet and introducing a state of emergency, which the deputy made today at the Parliament session. "The question of introducing a state of emergency has never been raised at the Security Council sessions or at the government collegium, or by the Russian president," the defense minister stressed in an exclusive interview to an *ITAR-TASS* correspondent.

"Such statements only create additional tension in society, draw the Army into political games, discredit the military leadership, and hinder those reforms that have begun in the Russian Armed Forces."

"The Russian Army was, is, and will be the people's [narodnoy] and with the people. The military leadership and the personnel of the Armed Forces will remain loyal to the Constitution and the reforms; they will support the nationally elected president and the decisions of the Russian Supreme Soviet. It is not the whipping up of passions but the fullest moral and material support on the part of the people, the parliament, and the president which the Russian Army needs today," Pavel Grachev said in conclusion.

Appeals to Draftees on First Russian Draft

PM1311185592 Moscow *KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian* 14 Nov 92 p 1

["Russian Federation Defense Minister's Appeal to Draftees, Their Parents, and Heads of Administrative Formations," signed by Russian Federation Defense Minister Army General P.S. Grachev; date not given]

[Text] Dear compatriots!

The homeland and the peoples of Russia are living through a complex time. The threat to society's internal stability and to the integrity of our common home is becoming increasingly clear. Under these conditions we are conducting the first draft into the Russian Armed Forces.

Military service has at all times been the sacred duty of every citizen of our homeland. The people have always treated the motherland's defenders with great respect and trust. Each of us bears a great responsibility at this hour. History, as has happened repeatedly before, is once again entrusting the state's security and Russia's destiny and honor to servicemen.

Dear youths joining the ranks of the Armed Forces at the start of your path through life, remember you are taking on the honorable duty of defending our people with weapon in hand. For you the Army will be a school of courage, fortitude, maturity, physical tempering, and professional growth. In the name of Russia's revival, be true to the traditions of valor and honor of the Russian Army and the military glory of your fathers and grandfathers.

I appeal to you, the parents and relatives of draftees. You understand the necessity and significance of military labor. I hope that by your parental instructions and your involvement in your sons' service you will help us commanders to raise them as disciplined and skilled servicemen and worthy citizens of the country. We will do everything possible to preserve your sons' life and health, so that they fulfill their military duty with honor.

I appeal to you, the leaders of administrative formations. The draft into the Armed Forces is a task of special state importance. It is within your power to promote its resolution.

I believe that Draftee's Day will be a memorable event in the life of every young Russian.

[Signed] Russian Federation Defense Minister Army General P.S. Grachev

'Resource' Satellite Program Outlined

LD1611092292 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 0740 GMT 16 Nov 92

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Pavel Ryabov]

[Text] Plesetsk November 16 TASS—The first private three-stage rocket carrier Soyuz with Resource-500 space apparatus on board was successfully launched from the Russian Plesetsk Kosmodrome on November 16 at 00:45 Moscow time [2145 GMT 15 November].

The space flight is being carried out in accordance with the "Europe-America-500" space project. Both the rocket and the space craft were built using funds provided by Russian private banks and companies. U.S. businessmen gave moral support to the project, while it was financed by Russian space and military structures.

Under the project of the transcontinental space flight worked out by the Russian Foundation of Social Inventions, the rocket carrier is to bring into the orbit the "Resource-500 satellite" nine minutes after it is launched. Five days after the start the descending apparatus with a special cargo packed in 19 containers sent as a present to the American people in connection with the 500th anniversary of America's discovery, is expected to splash down in neutral waters of the Pacific Ocean in the vicinity of the U.S. coast. The cargo on board includes a rock crystal statue of freedom, various advertising products of Russian companies and also a list of proposals to American partners to develop joint space programmes.

The "Marshal Krylov" vessel of the Russian Navy will locate the space apparatus and bring it to the port of Seattle on the eve of the Thanksgiving day where celebrations will be held to mark the event.

The project, which, according to experts' estimates would have cost 250 million dollars in the West, is aimed at attracting the attention of Western businessmen to the possibilities of Russian entrepreneurs and conversion projects. It was announced in the circles financing the project that billions of roubles invested in the project have been already repaid by its advertising.

The main purpose of the Resource-type apparatus is to take pictures of the Earth surface. They are capable of operating a 25-day long flight at altitudes ranging from 250 to 410 kilometers.

"Military space structures will not earn anything by launching the first private space craft in Russia," Colonel Valeriy Kabanov, deputy chief of the centre for preparing and testing Russian space-research facilities, told ITAR-TASS at the Plesetsk Kosmodrome before the start of the "Europe-America-500" programme. However, despite the fact that the flight brought no profit to the military, Kabanov views the beginning of the cooperation between the Army and private entrepreneurs as opening good prospects.

"The most important thing is that we are no longer inaccessible for cooperation," Kabanov said.

Supreme Soviet

Heads of Soviets, Leaders Meet at White House

LD1411101692 Moscow Mayak Radio Network
in Russian 0650 GMT 14 Nov 92

[Report by correspondent Aleksandr Ruvinskiy]

[Text] The meeting of heads of Soviets of Peoples' Deputies of republics, krais, oblasts, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs of the Russian Federation is taking place in Moscow in the Russian Supreme Soviet today. Our correspondent, Aleksandr Ruvinskiy, is on the line with details from the Russian White House:

[Ruvinskiy] Yes, it is expected that Yegor Gaydar will address that meeting, and as Ruslan Khasbulatov reported—he is chairing the meeting—Boris Yeltsin's arrival at the meeting has not been excluded—he has been invited. The main aim of this meeting is, however, to prepare for the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies and discuss several tough and topical points in the Russian Federation now.

Opening that meeting, Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov dwelt on the tension that exists now, but as he said, not in society, only in certain ruling circles. In his opinion, that tension is being created quite artificially. Well, let us listen to a short excerpt from his speech:

[Begin Khasbulatov recording] Well, unfortunately, such constant provocative actions by certain individuals are seriously causing tension and creating an emotional overload on people in crucial work sectors and, of course, in society. Naturally, in such a situation, the appearance of both left-wing and right-wing extremism is possible, but it is as if a group of people—a very tight one—around those who execute power, has given itself the task of creating tension in society. It is as if it had given itself this task.

Why does no one pay attention to these aspects? Incidentally, neither the press, nor the mass media, nor television, nor you are paying any attention. Well, there is tension in the air. According to some information, there are even some people who tried to take a poll of American leaders about what their attitude would be if, let us say, a state of emergency were introduced in the Russian Federation—although naturally, no state of emergency can be introduced without the knowledge, agreement, confirmation, and discussion by the Supreme Soviet. That is unequivocal. All other attempts—no matter by whom—are and will be qualified by us as a state coup and its organizers as state criminals.

Even under a state of emergency, the Supreme Soviet members, in accordance with the legislation in force, should continue to work calmly. [end recording]

[Ruvinskiy] Well, I must say that according to his opinion, Ruslan Khasbulatov said that the president has

nothing to do with creating that situation. Speaking of the schedule for convening the congress and of the fight that has developed around that congress and around that schedule, Khasbulatov said that this fight is quite senseless and if the Supreme Soviet were to postpone the congress, it would discredit itself totally, because under the Constitution if one tenth of the people's deputies participate in the congress, that number is enough for the congress to meet. That number of people's deputies has been assembled already by various groups, therefore, it would meet automatically. Moreover, Ruslan Khasbulatov said that in the very near future the Supreme Soviet will adopt very important documents, including the right to private ownership of land—for both individual farmers and for those who have dacha plots or kitchen gardens—and that will happen, in his opinion, next week. The meeting is continuing. I think we will hear a bit more of interest. I will inform our listeners.

Khasbulatov Warns Against Interference

LD1611122892 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 2100 GMT 15 Nov 92

[Speech by Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov to a conference of heads of local soviets of the Russian Federation in Moscow on 14 November; from the "Vesti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] All the time we keep hearing of more developments involving....[pauses] Yet as these began to settle down, one of the prime minister's deputies wrote the following when visiting an oblast. [as heard] Just listen to this from the minutes: quote, The Supreme Soviet often crosses the line, constantly trying to set up parallel executive power structures and various foundations. They are even currently trying to set up a judicial department. The Supreme Soviet has set up its own armed forces, unquote.

A deputy prime minister wrote this himself. This is an excerpt from the minutes: quote, We had an argument because of this. This is not a confrontation between the Supreme Soviet and the government. This is just criticism or is even an attempt to expose certain individuals representing the Supreme Soviet. Suffice it to say that a great deal of arms are being purchased if armed forces have been set up that are directly answerable to the speaker, unquote.

Just imagine, this was written by a deputy prime minister. He said a great deal of arms are being purchased. A special training center has been set up for these armed forces, and this special training center is preparing people for activities that might even involve terrorism and seizing the special purpose detachments that have been created. He claims an investigative structure has also been established.

I ask you, esteemed colleagues, how much further can one go in one's assumptions? Who is the one to blame for imposing confrontation on society? All this has been written by a deputy prime minister. When all these

people quietly started seizing buildings and premises that were supposed to be guarded by our Interior Ministry and so on....[pauses] Surely they are creating confrontation themselves.

And this is what they are writing about the soviets: Do you regard it as normal that people who harbor thoughts of revenge are engaged in carrying out reforms? I have in mind the soviets at all levels that are staffed by former CPSU Central Committee workers. Of course, I regard it as abnormal when people who do not want reforms are involved in implementing them. This is nonsense. I will tell you even more. In a number of regions, the heads and the staffs of soviets are simply trying to provoke crime. What the deputy prime minister tells you, in other words, is that you are responsible for provoking crime. You are doing everything possible to hinder the fight against crime and to provoke discontent among people. Various regions, including the Siberian region, were named.

We have to work in very difficult conditions because common sense and any sensible judgment comes up against raving criticism. At the same time, constant provocations by executive bureaucrats fail to be adequately assessed. Unfortunately, these constant provocative actions on the part of certain individuals are creating an exceptionally heated atmosphere, pushing people responsible for serious jobs, and society in general, towards emotional and mental breakdown.

Of course, both left-wing and right-wing extremism can emerge in this atmosphere. It seems, however, that a group of people working around very senior officials in the executive power have set for themselves the task of preserving tension in society. It is as if they gave themselves this task. For some reason, no one notices this: neither the press, the media, nor television. You do you not notice it. Things are being made worse.

According to some reports, certain people tried to sound out the leadership of the United States to determine what their attitude would be if a state of emergency were imposed in the Russian Federation. Naturally, there can be no state of emergency in this country without the knowledge, consent, discussion, and ratification by the Supreme Soviet. That is unequivocal. Any such attempt, whoever it may come from, is and will be regarded by us as a coup. Its organizers will be viewed as state criminals. Even in the conditions of a state of emergency, both the congress and the Supreme Soviet must calmly carry on with their work in accordance with enforced legislation. There can be no presidential, parliamentary, or any other [word indistinct], but only those in accordance with the Constitution.

It is clear, therefore, that all these reflections, all these inventions, all the speeches to that effect have one aim—to provoke and to arouse discontent, perhaps to try and to avoid responsibility for the failures existing in the economic reforms. This is quite a dangerous phenomenon, and I would like to draw your attention to the

fact that this is the context in which the unprecedented struggle around the issue of whether the congress should or should not be convened should be considered.

I am saying all this to you, esteemed colleagues, in such great detail because I want to show you once more how much our efforts and abilities are wasted on futile things. We have to work in an atmosphere where 99 percent of our lives, strength, and abilities are wasted on this sort of thing. This is why, of course, the Supreme Soviet has long been wondering whether all this has become possible because of one thing only: the loss by the Supreme Soviet of its power to influence the formation of government. If the same ministers of whom we have just been speaking had been confirmed by parliament, they would not have allowed themselves to behave in this way.

We have, therefore, adopted a law on the introduction of the Presidency. I hope the president will sign it. It is, without a doubt, designed to preserve high powers and high authority for the president while also reinstating certain controlling functions to parliament in regard to personnel. At any rate, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, his deputies, and a number of key posts must be confirmed and dismissed only with parliament's consent. These questions are emerging among us and, therefore, I ask you to be sufficiently cautious when you are at home.

Incidentally, I am more than certain that all this is going on without the president's knowledge. Many people next to the president act independently. Of course, Yegor Timurovich, for all his abilities, has in effect failed to organize the government. He is not the one to blame for all the initiatives I have been speaking about. Every minister regards himself almost as the prime minister. That is the trouble.

Many conflicting orders are being issued to local soviets. I also spoke about this to Boris Nikolayevich. [word indistinct] also suggested that various things had to be done in various places. A campaign and many other things had to be organized in order to establish total control of the deputies, of what they are saying, and of whom they are talking to. After all, if you have learned something, pass a decision to remove the person from the post and hand the case over to the court.

This is the situation, and I think democracy will perish if we are afraid of something, the beginnings of which are just beginning to surface. This will lead to a totalitarianism of which you have not even dreamt. Therefore, you must forget all your fear and act strictly in accordance with the Constitution and stop any illegal actions regardless of who they may come from. Otherwise, history will not forgive us for all the things that are beginning to take place in our country. This is why you should not succumb to provocations on any account. You must work together with the administration and the executive power. There are many normal people.

One of the main characteristics of the current economic situation as we see it here is a fall in production, a

continuous fall in production. The next element is the absolute worsening of the quality of life, the impoverishment of the people, and the continued collapse of the credit and financial system. Why have we been unable to keep the promises we gave to the people? Are the representatives of executive power at all levels capable of getting constructive interaction going? Well, we must throw light on these questions, and we should not be embarrassed. We should raise them very clearly, but we should not speak in a militant tone. We should speak very clearly, constructively, calmly, and in a business-like manner, from the position of real movement towards understanding each other and towards accord.

The elaboration of an effective mechanism of implementing the clauses of the Constitution that are connected with the Federation Treaty is of particular significance in the achievement of accord. I would not say the acceleration but the elaboration of a new constitution. On the whole, I mean that the very character of this very difficult situation literally condemns us to unity. I would very much like us to also adopt some kind of statement in the concluding part.

Incidentally, at the presidium of the Supreme Soviet, I expressed the idea that, probably this week, we must also adopt some statement at the Supreme Soviet. We must appeal to ourselves and to social parties and various forces to prevent the slide towards war, towards a confrontation of power, and so on. Let us be frank. No one can stifle anyone else. The strategy and tactics for a way out of the crisis and the need to put an end to the fall in production and the impoverishment of the people is strategically clear.

Says Government Polarized, West Uninterested

LD1411102592 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service
in Russian 0845 GMT 14 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Mariya Kuzmenkova]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Nov (TASS)—The representative and executive branches should avoid stirring up confrontation in the run-up to the Congress, especially as "society is seeking unification and showing no desire to fight either the reds, the blacks, or the greens," Russian parliament speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov said, speaking at a conference of leaders of local soviets in the White House.

The Russian parliament speaker commented that there are polarized views in the government on the economic and political situation in Russia—from the excessively rosy to prophecies of the total collapse of the reforms—at a time when the Supreme Soviet and the president are interested in objectivity.

According to Ruslan Khasbulatov, against the background of the continuing slump in output and decline in the standard of living of the population in Russia "there are signs of a collapse of the state structure," and this has

compelled deputies to describe the government's work as unsatisfactory and to demand that it take specific measures to stabilize life. This, he believes, requires the elaboration of a program to regulate the economy at each stage of the transition to the market, taking regional peculiarities into account.

"We should not expect large-scale help from the West because none of our neighbors has any interest in Russia remaining a great power and a competitive economic partner," the head of the Russian parliament stated.

Gaydar Warns of Hyperinflation

OW1411132592 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1254 GMT 14 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The slackening of financial policies beginning with May 1992 increased the growth of money in circulation from 9-14% to more than 25% monthly rate, thereby inflating prices—explained Russia's acting Premier Yegor Gaydar at today's meeting held in Moscow by the heads of the Russian Federation's regional and autonomous councils. The situation, he warned, could develop abruptly into a hyperinflation which remains our worst economic danger.

He said his government is going to slash credits to the industry and to curb money in circulation. It will also settle its financial and credit relations with the CIS members. In that case price rises could be slowed down in November-December.

Among the worst problems expected in the first half of next year he named unemployment. He gave the current unemployment figure as 400,000 and proposed raising allocations for the employment fund from 1% to 2% to help the government create new jobs.

Yegor Gaydar spoke sharply against a return to centralized economic regulation which would result in disastrous consequences, in his opinion, since it would ruin the emerging system of new economic links. He urged a higher effectiveness of the new economic regulators, such as selective support for enterprises and whole industries, such as light industries, and also for the conversion of the military-industrial complex. Such programmes would take 200 billion rubles next year.

While answering questions Yegor Gaydar expressed an opinion that the law on government passed by Parliament on Friday [13 November] "would completely paralyze the work of his cabinet" if enacted and pointed out that the act was passed with violations of procedure. He expressed hope that "the Supreme Soviet would be able to put its affairs to rights".

Parliamentary speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov countered by saying that "we would have no confrontation between the legislative and executive branches if parliament had

retained its right to take part in forming the cabinet, so that the ministers should feel responsible to the Supreme Soviet".

In turn, Gaydar stressed he was dead against any actions undermining popular representation. He commented on pronouncements by some of his deputies as "very dangerous". He had held "a special cabinet meeting to give them his opinion on the issue".

He met the criticism on the crisis in the social sphere by suggesting a municipal tax in its support. That could be 4-5% of enterprises' profits.

On taxation he reported that last month's budget revenue of 988 billion rubles fell into 520 billion of federal taxes, and 468 billion left for the regions.

Analyzes Economic Problems

LD1411132692 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service
in Russian 1020 GMT 14 Nov 92

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Nov (TASS)—Yegor Gaydar, acting head of the Russian Federation Government, in his report paid particular attention to analyzing the most acute problem of Russia's economic development. Speaking at the conference of heads of Soviets of Peoples' Deputies which opened in Moscow today, he described the situation with regard to inflation as very dangerous. A sharp increase in all types of prices began in the second half of August, Yegor Gaydar said. It was caused by the "collapse of the favorable tendency in the dynamics of the monetary mass" and the rise in grain prices. "The threat of hyperinflation is again becoming very serious."

Yegor Gaydar warned against "trying to use traditional methods to cure new ailments" and criticized the idea of restoring the system of centralized supply and regulation of flows of goods. In the present conditions, he noted, that is not only unrealistic but could also lead to catastrophic consequences. The acting head of government also spoke out against "the untargeted pumping of credit resources into the economy, which leads only to an increase in prices and the further destabilization of the financial situation."

The chief priorities at the present time, Yegor Gaydar said, should be "to develop effective instruments for controlling the market through selective support for individual crucial sectors of the economy and the regions." He particularly singled out among such sectors the defense industry and those industries which have suffered most from the disruption of economic links.

Yegor Gaydar expressed the thought that it is precisely "the necessarily abrupt" conversion of the defense industry which was one of the most important factors causing the considerable drop in output and the very acute social problems this year. In connection with this,

next year the government intends to allocate 250 billion rubles in preferential credits to finance "sensible" conversion programs. "The stabilization of production in the defense industry is a most important factor which could allow us to overcome the fall in production and create the prerequisites for an upturn," Yegor Gaydar stated.

Official: No Increase in Budget Planned

OW1411173292 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1714 GMT 14 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The head of the commission on budgets, plans, taxation and prices under the Russian Parliament Aleksandr Pochinok feels national spending has nowhere to grow in 1993. Pochinok told Saturday's conference of the heads of the legislatures of the autonomies inside the Russian Federation that in the nine months of this year the budget deficit in a number of regions had exceeded its planned level.

A few regions had collected the tax on profit as early as by October. Budget revenues from the taxation of added value profit had been growing at snowballing speed, Pochinok said, and would be topping 100 billion roubles a week by year's end. In the first nine months of 1992 the revenues from the other kinds of taxation had amounted to 40 to 80 percent of the year's planned volume.

The head of the parliamentary commission felt the distribution of taxes among the autonomies and the Federation left much room for improvement. The commission agreed the autonomies must collect more taxes than they did today.

According to Aleksandr Pochinok, the national privatization drive had brought only 19 billion roubles to the national budget. The emission of the 1.5 trillion-worth batch of privatization vouchers was working an adverse effect on the state budget. Pochinok described the vouchers as underrated money bills.

Aleksandr Pochinok demanded that a federal service for financial investigation be set up to look into offenses in the field of banking. The chairman of the budget commission said two months of inspection raids had brought to light the existence of a 160 to 170 billion-rouble worth of forged payment documents in Moscow. Pochinok suggested that the parliament meet in closed session to discuss Russia's defense and security budgets for 1993, because, he felt, the country had reached a limit in its attempts to economize on defense and security spending.

Assembly Statement Urges 'Moderate' Decisions

LD1411172392 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service
in Russian 1616 GMT 14 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Nov—Argument at the highest levels of power will only harm the prestige of both government and parliament and undermine social stability and accord, while output and living conditions fall and ethnic conflict continues, says a statement issued today by the assembly of heads of republican, kray, oblast and okrug Soviets of People's Deputies in Moscow. The assembly described as dangerous calls to dissolve the presidency and also threats to dissolve the Congress and to impose a state of emergency without the sanction of the Supreme Soviet. The statement calls on the president, government, political parties, and people's deputies of Russia to "cast off groundless suspicions, cease trading accusations, and get down to work, to seeking compromise and moderate decisions".

Deputy Says Parliament Dissolution, State of Emergency Planned

LD1311174592 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
1609 GMT 13 Nov 92

[Text] Moscow November 13 ITAR-TASS—Ion Andronov made a statement in the parliament today which was like a bomb explosion according to parliamentary sources. He told parliament, citing "a reliable source in the Kremlin" that "the dissolution of the Russian parliament is planned" for November 24 or 25.

Andronov made it clear that the dissolution of the parliament and the subsequent introduction of the state of emergency were to take place on the initiative of the presidential and government structures. Andronov said State Secretary Gennadiy Burbulis, Vice Premier Mikhail Poltoranin and Defence Minister Pavel Grachev were the people behind the plan.

Vice Premier Mikhail Poltoranin, who is also the Russian information and press minister, told ITAR-TASS that "the introduction of the state of emergency, if this was intended, would be prepared by the General staff and not by the Press Ministry".

Straight after Ion Andronov made his statement on the forthcoming dissolution of the parliament, Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov told parliament that he had been in touch with Defence Minister Pavel Grachev, who "was very much surprised and assured that the Army and the Defence Ministry are true to the Constitution and support the parliament as well as the president".

"The political and moral make-up of Ion Andronov is well-known to us", presidential spokesman Vyacheslav Kostikov told ITAR-TASS. He added that Andronov's "role in the parliament and the specific character of his connections are also known. Because of this we cannot attach any political significance to his pronouncements".

According to the presidential spokesman, Andronov's statement expressed "the highest degree of hysterics to which certain parliamentary circles have fallen prey". "It looks as though people like Andronov are seeking to pass

off their own thoughts and intentions for those of other people", Vyacheslav Kostikov said.

Says State of Emergency Claims 'Authentic'

OW1511135492 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1333 GMT 15 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Deputy chairman of Russia's parliamentary committee for international affairs and external economic relations Ion Andronov continues to insist that his information concerning the plans to impose a state of emergency and dissolve or suspend the parliament on November 24/25 is authentic. On Friday [13 November] Andronov gave this information to the parliament with reference to a source in the Kremlin.

He "verified this information with two more prominent Russian officials, one of them from the highest echelon of power, and both confirmed its authenticity", he said in an interview with IF [INTERFAX].

Andronov referred to the fact that another parliamentarian, TV reporter Aleksandr Polkovnikov, said in his TV program Friday evening that his sources confirmed the authenticity of reports concerning the plans to launch an unconstitutional coup.

"I'm extremely satisfied with the statement made by Defence Minister Pavel Grachev on Saturday in a 1st channel news program that there are no plans to dissolve Russia's parliament and carry out in this way an unconstitutional coup with his participation", said Andronov. "I was fully satisfied with the Defence Minister's statement, since the denial he made publicly tied the hands of those who undoubtedly had been considering plans to block the parliament."

Supreme Soviet Joint Session Adopts Laws

LD1311203392 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
1937 GMT 13 Nov 92

[Text] Moscow November 13 TASS—A joint session of the Russian Supreme Soviet chambers was held on November 13 at the House of Soviets. It was chaired by Ruslan Khasbulatov and Yuriy Voronin.

At the morning session the parliament adopted a resolution on Russia's joining the refugee status convention of 1951 and a protocol on refugee status of 1967. Representative of the Russian President and Deputy Russian Foreign Minister S. Lavrov commented on the document.

Then the Supreme Soviet adopted laws "On state interior debt of the Russian Federation", "Insurance" (in the second reading) and the draft law "On the introduction of changes and additions to the laws of the Russian Federation 'on excises' and 'on the entrails' [as received] in connection with the improvement of the Russian tax legislation" (in the first reading). The speaker on the

legislative acts was A. Pochinok, chairman of the Standing Commission on Budget, Plans, Taxes and Prices.

Then the Supreme Soviet confirmed the election of judges of various courts of a number of Russian regions and introduced amendments in its resolution of June 18, 1992, "On amnesty".

After a long exchange of opinion, the majority of parliament members agreed with the Russian president's proposal to appoint L. Bochinn chairman of the State Committee on Anti-Monopoly Policy and Support of New Economic Structures.

After discussing the draft law "On minimum wages and salaries", presented by Chairman of the Commission on Social Policy M. Zakharov, the parliament adopted the law with due account of deputies' amendments.

Under the law, the minimum wages and salaries are raised in the first quarter of 1993 to 2,250 roubles per month, and scholarships for students in December, 1992, and January, 1993, will be estimated on the basis of the 1,800 rouble salary, and later on the basis of the minimum salary.

At the evening session the parliament continued working on the draft law "On the Council of Ministers - the government of the Russian Federation" and after introducing all changed by the majority of votes adopted the law on the whole, and a resolution on the procedure of introducing the law.

The adoption of a decision on improving the work of the Russian Supreme Soviet and its presidium was postponed due to the insufficient preparedness of the document.

The Russian Supreme Soviet Press Center.

Adoption Shows 'Contempt' for Constitution

PM1311164592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 Nov 92 Morning Edition pp 1, 2

[Sergey Chugayev report: "Russian Parliament Votes for 'Insipid Ministers'"]

[Text] The previous day's debate on the draft law on the Russian Government and the very atmosphere in which one of the most important laws for the state was adopted make it possible to draw certain conclusions on the further evolution of the country's top organ of legislative power.

Above all—and this is most alarming—parliament, which is called upon, on a par with the president, to be a guarantor of the Constitution, clearly showed its contempt, to put it mildly, for the Fundamental Law. For, as already pointed out, the key provisions of the draft law on the government, which speaks of strengthening the role of the Supreme Soviet in appointing and removing the head of government, his deputies, and leading members of the

cabinet and expressing confidence in the government, run counter to the current Constitution. It is proposed that these articles will be put into effect after the appropriate changes have been made to the Constitution. But why are Supreme Soviet members so certain in advance that the Congress will support their proposals?

Parliament has also shown contempt for its own standing orders. The scandal associated with the lack of a quorum and the participation in the vote by persons who do not have the right to vote has been described in quite a lot of detail. But what if the parliament employee had not been caught? All the eyewitnesses could see for themselves that there probably were not even 100 deputies in the hall. It was deemed possible to discuss a draft bill which, I will repeat, is very important for the country when there clearly was not a quorum.

Despite the statements that the speaker of parliament and a number of parliamentary leaders are constantly making about the need for cooperation with the executive power and the calls for civil peace, in fact a policy of tough confrontation with the president is being implemented. Not one of the president's amendments, even after he made serious compromises in the course of preparing the draft law, was adopted. Moreover, additions have been introduced which, for example, infringe even the president's right to form his own administration. What cooperation can there be when the president is virtually deprived of the possibility of effectively leading the activity of the executive power?

It seems that the parliamentary majority is close to realizing its dream, which R. Khasbulatov once let out of the bag when he recalled with regret the "insipid ministers" of I. Silayev's government, who could have been "carpeted" by the parliamentarians at any moment. It would not be out of place, however, to recall that it was precisely thanks to such a status that the first Russian Government ended up virtually incompetent. It was no coincidence that Deputy Prime Minister V. Shumeyko, who was present at the sitting, declared toward the end that no normal government would be able to work under such a law.

What awaits the country if the draft law does not undergo changes and comes into force? The answer is unequivocal—ongoing confrontation. Confrontation between the government and parliament, virtually pre-programmed in this legislative act. Any prime minister who is at all self-respecting and feels his responsibility for the state of affairs in the country will simply be forced to enter into a conflict with the parliamentary leaders. Or else Russia will have a pocket government of "insipid ministers." Do we need such a government?

The legislators still have an opportunity to analyze and assess the possible consequences of the law's effect and to adopt the right decision. The law's final adoption by parliament will take place on 13 November. But the Congress will have the last word. Although Khasbulatov declared at the 12 November joint sitting of the session

that he personally is certain that, if the Congress approves the law on the government adopted by parliament, then all the contradictions between the executive and the legislature will cease. Only it is not known on what this certainty is based.

Supreme Soviet 13 Nov Proceedings Reported *LD1311234992*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 2045 GMT carries the 15-minute "At the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet" program, that features proceedings at the 13 November session chaired by parliament speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov

An unidentified speaker submits a proposal on behalf of the president for Russia to join the 1951 Refugees Convention and the 1967 Refugees Protocol and explains the thinking behind this move. By joining the convention, he says, Russia will enable international organizations to play a bigger role in helping to resolve refugee problems within Russia and the former USSR. An agreement on cooperation with the UNHCR was signed 6 October. The UNHCR will open an office in Moscow. There will be no additional costs payable by Russia as a result of joining the refugee convention and protocol. Russia will do what it can to help refugees in other countries. This will boost its international prestige.

A vote is taken on joining the refugee convention and protocol and passed by 166 to 0. Khasbulatov says this is a very important event.

At 2050 Khasbulatov introduces a draft law on the Russian Federation's internal debt. All amendments have already been discussed. But are there any internal contradictions? Chairman of the Budget Commission, Aleksandr Pochinok presents the law on internal debt. The law has been checked and some stylistic changes have been made, says, adding that there are no contradictions in the draft. Pochinok calls for a final vote on the law. The vote is taken and the proposal is passed by 93 to 0 and 80 to 0 in votes by separate chambers. Khasbulatov asks whether a vote on the decision bringing the law into effect is needed. Pochinok says yes. The decision is put to the vote and passed by 171 to 0.

Next Khasbulatov introduces a proposal on draft law on insurance for a second reading. Pochinok also presents the report on this subject. All amendments made to the law have been studied by the commission and incorporated. Pochinok says the clauses on responsibilities of insurer and insured have been controversial. Changes in the law have been underlined in the text, he says, and asks for the law to be adopted in principle. The vote is taken and passes 86 to 1. A vote on the draft decision as a basis is passed by 159 to 0.

At 2053 the next draft question to be discussed concerns amendments to the excise law and the law on sub-surface resources. Pochinok discusses the amendments to the law on sub-surface resources and the law on excise

duties. They have been prompted by changes in the taxation code. Levels of excise duty have now to be set by the government. They have already been defined. The two laws have now been brought into conformity with each other. Excise duties will be levied on mineral resources in accordance with the law. Khasbulatov calls a vote, which is passed by 85 to 1 and 73 to 0 in votes by separate chambers.

The nomination of a number of judges is approved by the Supreme Soviet. A vote is taken on judges in St. Petersburg. Khasbulatov wants to put the list to a vote. It passes 142 to 0. Another bill concerns the election of judges for the Komi-Permyak area. It also passes, 149 to 0. The appointment of other judges is also discussed.

Next, Bochin's appointment as chairman of the anti-monopolies committee is endorsed by deputies during the afternoon session.

Deputies then discuss a draft law on minimum wage levels. The minimum wage is expected to be 2,250 rubles.

At 2058 after adjournment, Andronov speaks from the floor about information just received from the Kremlin that the threat of dissolution is looming over the Russian parliament. At the request of the deputies Khasbulatov leaves the hall to check the accuracy of this information. When he returns, he assures the deputies that there is no real substance to the rumors.

At the evening session, the deputies return to the draft law on the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation. Krasavchenko speaks from the floor about the law. He says there are imperfections in it. It must be adequate to the times. In its present form the law does not match up to requirements. The law ought to give more room for maneuver to Yeltsin, as the man responsible for guiding the government. The president has been seeking amendments to the law, but they were all rejected, he says.

Nosovets speaks from the floor and questions the reliability of the electronic vote counting machinery. It has been causing trouble for a long time. The vote, when taken, must be conducted in strict accordance with the quorum present. Only 100 deputies have voted. After a check of the electronic counting equipment, the draft law on the government is adopted in its entirety, by a vote of 68 for and 7 against, with 8 abstentions, in one chamber, and 69 for, 6 against and 4 abstentions in the other.

12 Nov Proceedings

LD1311201792

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 2044 GMT on 12 November broadcasts a 30-minute recorded report on the proceedings of the 12 November session of the Russian Supreme Soviet held in Moscow.

The recording begins with Khasbulatov inviting Mikhail Alekseyevich Mityukov to speak on the bill on amendments and addenda to the Constitution.

Mityukov explains why the bill is necessary. He says the bill is in two parts: The first section is devoted to the substantive part of the Constitution, and the second section regulates the procedures for implementing the bill on amendments and addenda to the Constitution. The bill devotes great attention to the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg; it proposes that a new term be introduced, namely, town of federal importance, to denote the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg.

Mityukov goes on to talk about the term judicial system [sudoustroystvo] which occurs twice in the Russian Federation Treaty and which has given rise to a contradiction that needs to be resolved at the level of the Constitution, Mityukov says. He adds that certain corrections are introduced in Article 104 of the Constitution which determines the competence of the Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation. It proposes that the Congress should elect the first deputy and the deputy chairmen of the Russian Supreme Soviet.

It is proposed that certain aspects of the competence of the Supreme Soviet set out in Article 109 of the Constitution be specified, including which members of the Government are appointed with the agreement of the Supreme Soviet.

Mityukov talks about the problem that has arisen regarding the procedures for approving the Russian Collegium of the General Procuracy.

The Supreme Soviet interprets the Constitution and the laws of the Russian Federation.

Mityukov notes the proposal to renew Article 121-5 in accordance with the bill on the Russian Council of Ministers being discussed, which would point out what members of the Government are appointed with the agreement of the Supreme Soviet;

A proposal is added to Article 121-8 about the Russian president's having to ensure the fulfillment of the decisions of the Constitutional Court, the Council of Ministers, the government, the ministries, the state committees and departments of the Russian Federation, etc.

Article 123 of the Constitution is specified, taking into account the Bill on the Council of Ministers being discussed. It is proposed to do the same to Article 130.

The bill is being submitted to preliminary examination by the Supreme Soviet. Mityukov states that the final examination will be carried out by the Congress of People's Deputies.

Khasbulatov asks whether there are any questions for rapporteur Mityukov.

Deputy Vladimir Andreyevich Tikhonov refers to the Federation Treaty and says that the issue of ownership is a matter for the republics.

Mityukov denies there is any contradiction in the bill with the Federation Treaty.

Tikhonov persists with his argument. Khasbulatov sides with Mityukov and calls for such attempts to oppose the republics to be abandoned.

An unidentified deputy asks: If the bill is adopted, may the deputies submit by the second reading proposals for changing other articles of the Constitution? Mityukov says that this is possible.

A deputy proposes an addition to Article 109 item 25-2, which presupposes the possibility of the dissolution of a representative body which does not carry out the decisions of the Constitutional Court, for example Tatarstan. The deputy adds that the possibility of voting a no-confidence motion in the entire government violates the balance of powers.

Khasbulatov proposes that some issues be left until the second reading; meanwhile, laws on land relations will be adopted.

Nikolay Timofeyevich Ryabov, chairman of the Soviet of the Republic, says that all amendments up until now are being included and examined by the Committee for Legislation during preparation for the second reading.

Khasbulatov puts the bill to a vote. Results of the voting in the Soviet of the Republic: 71 in favor, 2 against, 5 abstentions by the Soviet of the Republic. Results of the voting in the Soviet of Nationalities: 68 in favor, 2 against, and 5 abstentions. The bill is passed in the first reading.

Khasbulatov then introduces Yefim Vladimorich Basin, chairman of the Committee for Construction, Architecture and Housing, and the Municipal Economy. Khasbulatov also refers to Nikolay Timofeyevich Loptako, deputy chairman of the Russian Construction Ministry Committee for Housing and the Municipal Economy.

Basin talks about the bill on amendments and addenda to the RSFSR law on Housing privatization. To date, less than 1.5 million apartments have been privatized: Less than 1.5 billion rubles of proceeds from the privatization have been received; that is, approximately 1,000 rubles per apartment. Eighty percent of apartments in individual regions of Russia are being privatized free of charge by decision of territorial bodies. "We propose that housing be privatized free of charge," Basin says. Khasbulatov asks Basin to detail the percentage of the population that would be affected by privatization.

Basin says that today 85 percent of the people live in individual apartments or houses in Russia. Approximately 65 percent of them live in state and municipal housing, so that the majority of the population will be offered such an opportunity. Basin then proposes that

the procedure for transferring ownership of housing to citizens be simplified and speeded up.

An unidentified deputy calls for the bill to be passed in its first reading, taking into account the interests of 80 percent of the Russian population. Khasbulatov backs this request and puts it to the vote.

Results of voting in the Soviet of the Republic: 79 in favor, 6 against, 2 abstentions. Results of voting in the Soviet of Nationalities: 86 in favor, 3 against, 3 abstentions. The bill is passed.

Tatarstan Almost Ready To Sign Treaty With Moscow

OW1311213892 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1438 GMT 13 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Tatar Supreme Soviet Farid Mukhametshin told INTERFAX in an exclusive interview that Tatarstan is nearly prepared to sign before the end of this year a treaty with the Russian Federation delegating to the latter some of its powers.

Tatarstan, he said, wants its relations with Russia to be raised to a level "higher than that established by the Federal Treaty." He expressed the hope that the new bilateral treaty, work on which is nearly finished by a Tatar and Russian delegations, "will become an example of how the unity of the federation can be preserved." He said he has had a meeting today with Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Ruslan Khasbulatov, suggesting to him that the treaty, after being signed, not only be submitted to the Russian parliament for ratification but be also reflected in the Russian Constitution.

Mukhametshin said he had come to Moscow to make arrangements for the publication of the Tatar Supreme Soviet's statement in connection with the television address of Oleg Rummyantsev, Executive Secretary of the Russian Constitutional Commission, who allegedly misinterpreted some of the articles of the Tatar Constitution. "We are a republic which has not signed the Federal Treaty but by no means a republic which has seceded from the Russian Federation by proclaiming itself independent," he said.

In a way, according to Mukhametshin, Tatarstan went further than Russia did by establishing a constitutional right to private landownership and passing a law on ownership. Commenting on the situation in North Ossetia and Ingushetiya, Mukhametshin said he "opposes the revision of borders because this definitely leads to tension and conflicts."

Regional Affairs

New Chief of Moscow Internal Affairs Administration Examines Duties

PM1311132592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Nov 92 Morning Edition p 6

[Vadim Belykh report: "New Moscow Militia Chief Defines Direction of Main Strike"]

[Text] Colonel Vladimir Pankratov has been appointed chief of the [Moscow] Internal Affairs Main Administration, thus replacing the "civilian" Arkadiy Murashev.

Vladimir Pankratov informed IZVESTIYA that the new appointment had not come as a surprise to him. He had known about it in advance and had held detailed discussions with the mayor of Moscow and the Russian internal affairs minister.

The new chief had only good words for his predecessor. Like most Internal Affairs Main Administration officers, he regards Arkadiy Murashev as indisputably a very talented man and is sure that in another sphere closer to him than the militia—politics, for example—he will attain great heights. In general, however, in Pankratov's opinion, Murashev had a number of undoubted qualities as leader of the Main Administration. His way of thinking was completely different from that of the militia, which enabled many problems to be resolved in an untraditional way. Typically for a civilian, he also had a critical attitude to orders which people in shoulderboards, bound together by military discipline, cannot permit themselves. All this, however, did not prevent the Moscow internal affairs organs which he headed from making a number of annoying mistakes.

The new boss at 38 Petrovka Street is a professional through and through—he has been in the militia since the age of 17. In his 53 years he has worked in the criminal investigation department (working his way up from detective officer to a section chief of the Moscow Criminal Investigations Department) and directed a combat training department, the city administration for public order protection, and a rayon Internal Affairs Administration. In the 1980's he headed the Moscow State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration. In this post he distinguished himself by his desperate struggle against "car privileges." It was precisely under him that "privileged" license plates were issued to invalids, and the number of cars in the city fitted with special signals was cut from 5,500 to 500.

Pankratov links the next twist in his service career specifically with the intrigues of the 5,000 officials who were deprived of their flashing lights and sirens—his appointment to the post of chief of the Moscow "Dinamo" Society Mass Organization and Physical Training Department.

It is only six months since the disgraced colonel was recalled from his sporting "exile." He first became chief

of the public security militia and deputy chief of the Moscow Internal Affairs Main Administration.

The new head of the capital's internal affairs organs defined his action program in simple terms in a discussion with your IZVESTIYA correspondent: "Stop waiting for something to turn up and address shortcomings in legislation. Define the directions of the main strikes and come down on crime."

Vladimir Pankratov was reluctant to talk about possible reshuffles of other Moscow militia leaders.

Promises Vigorous Action

PM1311164792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Nov 92 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Militia Colonel Vladimir Pankratov, newly-appointed chief of the Moscow City Main Internal Affairs Administration, by Andrey Zhdankin; place, date not given; under the rubric "Appointment": "Capital's New Militia Boss"]

[Text] Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov, by agreement with Russian Internal Affairs Minister Viktor Yerin, has relieved Arkadiy Murashev, chief of the Moscow Main Internal Affairs Administration, of his post. Militia Colonel Vladimir Pankratov has been appointed to this post.

He is 53 and has been in militia organs since the age of 17. He has risen through all the ranks of his official career: from operations officer to chief of a department of the Moscow Criminal Investigation Section, and he has headed a rayon internal affairs administration, the capital's administration for the protection of public order, and the Moscow State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate. He distinguished himself in that post by successfully combating "nomenklatura" transport and he drastically reduced the number of cars with lights and sirens.

He instigated the "Arsenal," "City at Night," "Web," and "Signal" operations. He is an advocate of resolute measures to curb crime. According to one of his predecessors, "Pankratov is a real professional with a stern character and will impose order."

He is a master of sport in unarmed combat and a USSR champion.

It was not easy to get through on the phone to the leader of the capital's militia on his first day in his new post.

[Zhdankin] What is your assessment of the Moscow militia's activity?

[Pankratov] Both the mayor of Moscow and our minister have given their assessment, and I agree with them: It is not efficient enough. I scarcely think Muscovites would dispute that assessment.

[Zhdankin] What is going to change with your advent? What will be your first actions?

[Pankratov] Above all they will be vigorous actions. Our laws are imperfect, of course, but so long as they have not been repealed, they must be fulfilled. "Packages" of our proposals for improving legislation are in the hands of the Russian Supreme Soviet and the Moscow Government, but no one has yet relieved the militia of the obligation to demand execution of the existing laws. Here is an example: Foul language is to be heard practically everywhere, but this still remains an unpunished form of hooliganism, and hooliganism requires an appropriate reaction from the militia. Because hooliganism is a barometer of the state of society.

The second area is concern for personnel. We must stop the exodus of professionals and create conditions in which service in the capital's militia is a worthy job for young guys. The Moscow government, prefects, and our ministry have promised their support.

Despite the fact that the militia does not have sufficient resources, nevertheless, given correct maneuvering, we can ensure that it has an edge over the criminal world at the right place and the right time and at least alleviate the acuteness of the problem.

[Zhdankin] Did your appointment come as a surprise?

[Pankratov] The appointment itself did not, the surprise was that I was included in the group of candidates. It's nice that after my appointment my predecessors in this post called to congratulate me—former main administration leaders Myrikov, Trushin, Bogdanov, and Borisenkov. [Pankratov ends]

It was impossible not to ask Vladimir Pankratov's opinion of Arkadiy Murashev. According to him, both leaders and the collective bade a very warm and respectful farewell to Murashev. The presence of an "outsider" in this high militia post also had its positive aspects—staffers themselves were able to take a look at many things from a different angle, which is certainly useful. To his credit, Murashev did not "break" people.

Moscow Mayor Seeks Reconciliation With Supreme Soviet

PM1611093792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Nov 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Viktor Belikov report: "Mayor Extends Hand, But Moscow City Soviet Does Not Notice"]

[Text] The confrontation between Moscow's executive power and representative power, which has already lasted more than a month, may soon be ended. This possibility is opened up by Mayor Yu. Luzhkov's appeal to Moscow City Soviet deputies.

It points out that a complex socioeconomic and sociopolitical situation is taking shape in the city. It is becoming perfectly obvious that further confrontation

between the powers threatens a disaster. The city's residents come off the losers when these relations become exacerbated.

After emphasizing the need for mutual vigorous actions aimed at maintaining the life-support systems of a city with a population of millions, Luzhkov proposes discussing the question of cooperation between the City Soviet and City Hall at a joint session of the government and the Moscow City Soviet Presidium in the very near future, in order to direct all the city's organs of local power toward consolidation, close contacts, and efficient and harmonious work.

Of vital importance in the mayor's proposals is the compulsory procedure which prescribes the receipt of the conclusions of the relevant Moscow City Soviet standing commissions on documents of a normative nature issued by the government.

It is also proposed to arrange closer cooperation when forming the city's budget and in monitoring its fulfillment. The powers of the Moscow Soviet and the city administration in the sphere of tax policy must be strictly observed. At the same time organs of executive power draw up and submit for the soviet's examination proposals concerning the setting of taxes, dues, duties, and tariffs for payment of services and the procedure for levying them.

Luzhkov's appeal emphasizes that it is necessary to draw up as soon as possible a mechanism of cooperation between organs of the representative power and the executive power in respect of real estate. It states in conclusion that the proposed measures for cooperation between the city's representative power and executive power could have been examined at the Moscow Soviet session. But the discussion did not take place. The deputies decided to close the session 11 November.

The head of Moscow's administration also appealed to Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk and N. Bagrov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Crimea, in connection with the proposed proclamation of sanatoriums, rest homes, and guest houses of enterprises and organizations in the Russian capital as the property of the Crimean Supreme Soviet.

The letter states that the adoption, in any form whatever, of normative acts on the confiscation of facilities in the social sphere located in Crimea or other places and belonging to Moscow's working people could unequivocally provoke only sharp objections and lead to the deterioration of relations between our countries' fraternal peoples.

Moscow Militia Reports Growing Demand for Personal Weapons

PM1311172592 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 12 Nov 92 p 1

[Viktor Romanchin report: "Let's Combat Crime With Gas Weapons"]

[Text] A crime explosion, violent attacks, extortion, robberies—all this has literally plunged into terror millions of Russians, who find themselves practically all on their own in facing emboldened criminals. Hoping for help from the militia became an illusion long ago. People have been forced to find ways of somehow safeguarding themselves, their children, and their homes. Gas canisters and pistols, which are as a rule being acquired illegally, have given some measure of hope. The president's edict allowing the acquisition, keeping, and use of such personal protection devices has finally been adopted.

So, the edict has been adopted. What can our society expect? Here is the opinion regarding this of I. Sedov, senior armorer, experienced specialist, and chief of Moscow Internal Affairs Main Administration's Permit System Department:

"The rayon internal affairs administrations, where permits to acquire and keep special personal protection devices will be issued, will have to process a colossal mass of people. According to our forecasts, in Moscow alone around 7 million people will want to arm themselves. Throughout Russia as a whole there will be tens of millions wishing to do this.

"Initially a deterioration in the crime situation is expected. A lack of knowledge and practical skills in handling such weapons will lead not only to injuries but also to undesirable "score-settling" with the aid of gas pistols. We have to elaborate legal responsibility standards and organize special courses in which at least the basics of using weapons can be given.

"The most alarming aspect is the sale of weapons. In all likelihood, while their production is organized at the Izhevsk and Tula plants a stream of foreign-produced weapons will swamp us and, by legal and underground means, will start to be sold through commercial structures.

"The price of one item could leap to 60,000-80,000 rubles."

Poll Surveys Muscovites' Attitudes on GOSR Anniversary

PM1311120792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Nugzar Betaneli, director of the Institute of the Sociology of Parliamentarianism: "Society's Mood Deteriorates"]

[Text] The independent Institute of the Sociology of Parliamentarianism has carried out its regular poll of 1,000 Muscovites, commissioned by the Television News Agency (ITA). Here is what the comparative analysis showed.

The present prompts people to interpret afresh not only their own lives but Russia's history too. An appreciable

"outburst" of social and historical self-awareness was observed last week. The three-quarters of a century which have passed since the day of the Great October Socialist Revolution and today's stormy political changes have not erased the significance and drama of this event, which is perceived diversely but not indifferently by many people even today. As the poll showed, 50 percent of Muscovites believe that 7 November is "their holiday," although 42 percent do not believe this, and 8 percent had difficulty specifying.

The holiday arouses highly conflicting feelings among 40 percent of Muscovites, ranging from pride in this event and nostalgia for the past to disappointment and bitterness toward it. At the same time, 41 percent of those polled said that this date "arouses no feelings at all," and 19 percent "found them difficult to describe."

The polarization of views in society today as regards the October holiday—traditional, until recently—is determined by a profound re-evaluation of the historical past itself: Of those polled, 40 percent believe that the sacrifices borne by the Russian people in the years of the October Revolution were in vain, 33 percent hold the opposite opinion, believing that "these sacrifices were not in vain," 25 percent "found it difficult to specify," and a mere 2 percent declared that "this problem in general does not worry them."

The re-evaluation of the past by no means signifies an unconditional and uncritical perception of current events. The majority—70 percent—remain dissatisfied with their life, and indicators monitored weekly again point to a deterioration of society's mood. Today, 36 percent of those polled believe that "it is impossible to cope with" price liberalization.

If the economic situation in Russia deteriorates further in the next two-three months, a reciprocal intensification of social protest can be anticipated. Thus, the number of those who "will demand an increase in wages at their place of work" rose from 9 percent in September to 13 percent in November, and a further 4 percent of Muscovites are planning to take part in protest action—demonstrations, rallies, strikes. At the same time, there is an increasing tendency among the population to somehow adapt to the economic difficulties: The number of those who "will seek additional income" should the situation deteriorate rose from 38 percent in September to 43 percent in November, and 10 percent apparently "will change their place of work." But a large number of Muscovites (30 percent in September, 32 percent in November) are extremely pessimistic and believe that they "will be unable to undertake anything."

Social pessimism is having a ruinous effect on the Russian authorities' ratings. Thus, the number of Muscovites who believe that B. Yeltsin will achieve success and extricate Russia from the crisis before the new presidential elections in 1996 fell significantly—from 37 percent in August to 28 percent in November—and the

number of "non-believers" has increased from 44 percent in August to 54 percent in November.

The "chronic" debates and the struggle between the legislative and executive authorities lead many to think that the Congress of Russian People's Deputies (in its current form) is incapable of successfully cooperating with the president and the Russian Government. Although 49 percent of Muscovites thought this way in April during the Sixth Congress, their number has risen to 62 percent today. At the same time, the number of people who believe in Congress' capacity for collaboration and cooperation with the executive authorities has halved (from 20 percent in April to 10 percent in November.)

At the same time, many people realize that the problem of successful collaboration between the legislative and executive authorities in Russia cannot be resolved simplistically or "mechanically" merely through early elections of people's deputies or the formation of a new legislative institution in Russia. It is curious that the number of "supporters" of the idea for new elections to the corps of deputies has decreased somewhat—from 50 percent in April to 47 percent in November, while the number of "opponents" has remained almost the same at 29 percent

To all appearances, the other idea—for a unilateral increase of the president's powers and the introduction of direct presidential rule in Russia—is not gaining enough "weight": 34 percent "support" the introduction of this structure, and 26 percent "do not support it."

Tatarstan President Supports Maintaining Ties With Russia

OW1311205892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1918
GMT 13 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mintimer Shaymyev, the President of Tatarstan, called to support the historic ties with Russia.

Addressing the republican press on Friday, he pointed out that everybody should accept as a reality the fact that Tatarstan is a sovereign state. But, Shaymyev believes, there cannot be a sovereignty in a pure form, "it is necessary to begin its restriction immediately after its proclamation." According to the President, the republic "pursues the course of a self-willed transfer of a great volume of authorities to Russia on the basis of the agreement" in order to jointly solve common problems without a territorial division. "During the formation of Tatarstan's statehood the volume of the authorities being transferred will be reduced, Shaymyev underlined, but some of them will remain. The President believes that it is a mutually beneficial position which will be appropriate for the peoples of Tatarstan and Russia.

Bashkortostan Parliament Appoints New Prime Minister

OW1411183992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1714
GMT 14 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An emergency session of Bashkortostan's Parliament has endorsed the appointment of Anatoliy Koptsov as the head of Bashkortostan's Cabinet. The new Prime Minister is ethnic Russian. He was born in 1942 and has been employed, up till now, as the general manager of the share holding society Bashkirenergo. 186 of the 223 MP's who attended the emergency session voted for the non-contested candidacy of Koptsov, and 37 objected to his appointment.

The Parliament suggested that by year's end Anatoliy Koptsov form a new Cabinet. The acting Ministers will retain their portfolios pending new appointments.

In an interview with INTERFAX, the new Prime Minister said the government line would undergo no serious changes. Negotiations between Bashkortostan and Russia would continue at the same pace and level. The two republics are negotiating the division of powers.

A member of the Parliament's collective presidency and a leader of Bashkortostan's negotiating team Zufar Yenikeev agreed with the new Prime Minister. He felt the negotiations with the Russian Federation would most likely resume November 25 in the city of Ufa. The fifth round of the negotiations would focus on the division of property rights and powers in the legal and educational fields.

The government crisis broke out on the 14th of this month when the Cabinet headed by Marat Mirgaziamov resigned in full body after failing to win a vote of confidence in the national Parliament. Vice Premier Aleksey Kharlov served as the republic's interim Premier.

PRAVDA Interviews Leader of Nizhny Novgorod Oblast

PM1211160192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Nov
92 p 4

[Interview with B.Ye. Nemtsov, head of Nizhny Novgorod Oblast Administration, by Anatoliy Minayev, Georgiy Ovcharenko, and Valeriy Orlov in Nizhny Novgorod; date not given: "Boris Nemtsov: 'If There Is a Dictatorship, I Will Resign'"]

[Text] There is a lot of talk these days about Nizhny Novgorod Oblast and its 33-year-old head of administration. Some speak of them with respect and even admiration: Look, they say, here is an oblast where people are getting down to work rather than arguing—and the reforms are well under way. Others poke fun at them: Nemtsov himself, they claim, is a democratic upstart, and all his reforms are nothing but a tempest in a tea pot.

It is, therefore, that much more interesting to hear the views of Boris Yefimovich himself, a former senior scientific associate and now governor of one of Russia's main oblasts. As a matter of fact, Nemtsov did not hesitate at all before consenting to be interviewed by PRAVDA. The first question was prompted by life itself, as it were.

[PRAVDA] Boris Yefimovich, on our way to meet you at the [Nizhniy Novgorod] Kremlin we saw people gathering for a rally. There were times, as far as we can recall, when you were an active participants in similar events. What is your attitude toward them today?

[Nemtsov] I try to be completely fair. Provided, of course, they are held within the legal framework, do not pursue violent goals, and do not end up in shooting. These are not empty words. For example, a workers congress was recently held in Nizhniy Novgorod, prior to that we had the Russian National Assembly [sobor] Congress, meetings were held with "Pamyat" and with General Makashov. There were no excesses, no big-stick methods. Thus, I feel calm about the opposition's actions. Probably because I have personally and repeatedly experienced the "big stick" at rallies in the past. I would not like my name to be associated with violence.

[PRAVDA] Unfortunately, not all of your colleagues think the same way.

[Nemtsov] As a matter of fact, I told Popov, at the time when he organized the breakup of the 23 February rally, that this was absolutely unthinkable. When someone uses the language of militia nightsticks to talk to the opposition, he must be suffering from political sclerosis. Unfortunately, Moscow's authorities have different ethics.

[PRAVDA] Boris Yefimovich, are you familiar with the slogans beneath which people gather at rallies?

[Nemtsov] Of course. First: Struggle against unemployment and prevent any loss of jobs. Second: Halt the wild price hikes. Third: Put an end to unbridled crime and violence. I am willing to subscribe to all this. I have made suggestions of ways to implement these demands, but so far they have been shelved by the government.

[PRAVDA] And what is your attitude toward political slogans? Like "Down with Nemtsov!", for example?

[Nemtsov] Calm. Do you think that this job is problem-free? After all, this office was formerly occupied by the obkom [oblast CPSU committee] first secretary, who ordered everyone about while the oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] bore responsibility for everything. Now I bear responsibility for everything that is happening in the oblast. Even for matters for which I am not formally responsible. Like, for example, the emission of money and the economic and credit policy. All federal plants are subordinated to Moscow, yet people take me to task for the situation in these plants.

[PRAVDA] You said at the Cheboksary conference that you are prepared to run for re-election right away....

[Nemtsov] Not quite so. Heads of administration are currently appointed by the president. I believe that we governors should be elected by the people. On this point I disagree even with the president. It is a different matter that people today are so fed up with politics, they are so disillusioned with both "right-wingers" and "left-wingers," with both "reds" and "whites," that they simply will not go to cast their votes.

[PRAVDA] This is exactly what happened in Moscow Oblast's Dmitrovskiy Rayon....

[Nemtsov] Quite. This was the effect of the inadequacies of the Law on Elections. The current requirement is to have at least 50 percent of voters casting their votes, with victory going to whoever wins at least 50 percent of votes cast. But if there is a 40-45 percent turnout but a contender wins the equivalent of 25 percent of votes cast by 50 percent of voters—why should such an election be deemed invalid? I therefore believe that the congress must first consider the question of amending the Law on Elections and then the question of the elections themselves.

[PRAVDA] While on this subject, who will gain victory if they are held, say, next spring or fall?

[Nemtsov] The corps of directors will more than likely gain the upper hand. Today they bear huge responsibility for people's living standards and can do a lot in this regard—and the voters realize this. As for the radical opposition, as for sundry Anpilovs or Makashovs, their chance of getting elected are zero. Because the people could not care less what slogans are raised and by whom. People want to know whether they will have bread, milk, and meat, and at what price. Will there be housing, and at what price? What will happen to kindergartens, hospitals, and so on? That is all! Nobody will answer these questions, neither democrats nor Communists, none from the opposition. But the directors will. For example, our motor vehicles plant leadership offers precise and clear answers.

[PRAVDA] And yet even the corps of directors, judging by statements in PRAVDA, is in opposition today.

[Nemtsov] Actually, I do not consider PRAVDA to be that much of an opposition newspaper. I have been reading it with great interest recently. I like it more that ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, which is already too much of an official newspaper. At the same time, I must say that I am very much a law-abiding person, and I get an unpleasant feeling when I read "Down with the president!" in your newspaper. After all, he was elected by the people, and they are good friends to have.

[PRAVDA] First, that was an open letter to the president from quite a large group of Russian people's deputies, and we simply could not have kept silent about it, like other newspapers did. How could we talk about glasnost

and independence of the press otherwise. Second, had the president honored his election promises, had the Russian people's life improved rather than deteriorated, there would have been no calls for the president's resignation. It is, after all, no accident that the deputies who signed the letter include some who were fervent "Yeltsinites" in the past.

[Nemtsov] I could understand it when General Secretary Gorbachev's resignation was demanded. Who the hell elected him? But the president was elected by the people. How could the press write: "Down with Yeltsin!"? Yes, I know well some of those who signed the letter. Ilya Konstantinov, for example. I told them all: "Dear comrades, imagine the president suddenly turning his back to it all and resigning, whom will you put in his place? What will you do the next day with this vast country which is all going to pot? Is there a leader of the present president's stature?" Your hear people often say: "Down with the government!" Being a responsible person, I ask: "Who will replace it?" It is a different matter if replacements are identified. Yet nobody identifies anybody.

[PRAVDA] There is frequent talk nowadays about Vol'skiy's team. And even you are predicting an election victory for the directors....

[Nemtsov] You know, I have spoken about Vol'skiy with many really senior and responsible enterprise leaders, including people working in the military-industrial complex, but not one of them, not a single one of them perceives him as a leader.

And now about responsibility. Despite the fact that the government has taken many absurd steps, the Supreme Soviet must also bear equal responsibility for them. What do you think, is there no accountability to the Supreme Soviet for banking operations and credit matters? For pensions provision? All this falls within the Supreme Soviet's sphere of activity!

[PRAVDA] Nobody is saying that the Supreme Soviet is holier than the pope. But the Gaydar team's policy is leading the country toward such an abyss that even Yeltsin deems it necessary to most seriously amend the program of reforms.

[Nemtsov] Yes. But the adoption of any radical economic solution today is fraught with negative consequences. Take price determination for example. This automatically and absolutely indicates the onset of dictatorship. Try and do it in our motor vehicles plant or in agriculture. Imagine that some know-all arrives at the kolkhoz and says: "That's it, you'll be delivering grain only at 3,000 instead of 15,000 rubles [R] per tonne." What will the kolkhoz member do? He will hide his grain. There will be a bread shortage in the cities. What next? Grain confiscation detachments. Now we need clever, cautious, and patriotic politicians. God preserve us from economic extremism, from dictatorship.

[PRAVDA] Nonetheless, it is the members of "Democratic Russia" who are now talking about the need for a state of emergency, that it is almost time to lock up the opposition...

[Nemtsov] Let me tell you: If a dictatorship emerges, I will immediately resign from office. If just one single person is killed by a nightstick or a bullet on the authorities' instructions, this would mean that I personally have murdered him. This is my stance. What will happen if we were to introduce martial law now? First of all they will close PRAVDA down. But this will be just a minor offshoot. What else? There will be tanks in the streets. There will certainly be casualties. Either a tank will run someone down or (there are fanatics in our country nowadays) someone will throw himself under a tank. As it happened in Latvia and in Tbilisi, although I am certain that the soldiers did not want to kill anyone. I do not wish to be held responsible for that. Or for any putsches, either.

[PRAVDA] Fine, Boris Yefimovich. Your stance on this issue is clear. Let us move on to economic reforms. You support them, and you are doing a lot along this avenue in your own oblast. But looking at the country as a whole, so far the reforms have not improved people's lives, they have made them worse.

[Nemtsov] You are right. Speaking about the experience of reforms in general (and a certain amount has already been accumulated), many rash steps have been taken and a vast number of mistakes have been committed. The main mistake is the fact that our acting prime minister thought that financial manipulation would be simple and that it would be easy to restructure our vast industry and make it produce butter instead of tanks. This will never be so. Even the governments of developed capitalist countries render specific support to various sectors of the national economy. Key sectors would find it impossible to exist without state protectionism. Our country's key production sectors are the extraction of coal, gas, and oil and metallurgy.

Have you heard the government make even a single statement to the effect that a certain number of oil wells are shutting down and we are doing this or that to keep them open. There have been no such statements. Some 27,000 oil wells have already been shut down. What sort of policy is this? The government has lacked a sectoral approach, it could not care less about vitally important production sectors. And yet under the Communists deliveries and orders for these sectors were always highlighted in red, they were given priority. If a director received an order for drilling equipment and he either failed to fulfill it or delayed its fulfillment, his head would have been on the block. He got kicked in the butt. Actually, this was right, even though I never was a Communist. As for our present government, it does not have and never has had any clear-cut priorities.

The second and especially terrible mistake made by the government—certainly not by the president but actually

by Gaydar—was that he pinned his hopes on organizations like the IMF, on the \$24 billion. What stupidity! After all, this simply denigrates our entire people! And the main point is that foreign politicians deceived our simpletons. They did not and will not give them anything. Faith in a kind trans-Atlantic uncle, in a czar—this is downright idiocy.

This was obvious to me from the very beginning. I openly said so not in PRAVDA but in THE NEW YORK TIMES. In other words, people both abroad and in our own government are aware of my attitude toward all this. I believe that the president was right when he said it clearly: Russia will pursue its policy and will not go around with a begging bowl.

[PRAVDA] At long last! And yet this should have been done earlier, Gaydar's delusions should have been corrected. he should not have been allowed to arrive at—as you put it—“downright idiocy.” Instead, Yeltsin himself took over as head of government and followed in Gaydar's footsteps.

[Nemtsov] That was a mistake by the president, and I told him so. He cannot risk his reputation like that.

[PRAVDA] Boris Yefimovich, you are constantly criticizing the government, and your criticism is much more deadly than that by the opposition. At the same time, you emphasize that you are not in opposition to the government. How can this be explained?

[Nemtsov] The point is that I criticize from within. Furthermore, I support the transformations in the country. I am absolutely convinced that there is no turning back. Absolutely convinced! This is the difference between us: I would not have taken a single step without calculating all the consequences of reforms. Even when something has to be done, it is better to refrain if it will have a bad effect on the people. This is the profound difference. In other words, this is not criticism by oppositionists who are standing on the sidelines, it is criticism by someone who is tackling specific matters jointly with this government and is responsible for the reforms being implemented in Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast.

Incidentally, many people in the government show understanding for my stance and agree with it. I walk in the government lobbies, I meet ministers, and they say: “You have said the right thing.” But this is in the lobbies. My answer is: “And why do you keep silent at government sessions?” Things are still the way they used to be.... Everybody abused Gorbachev, but when they assembled at a congress or a plenum they voted for him....

To continue. In contrast with the radical opposition, I pose no demands to sack everyone and replace everyone. This government must be made to “get down to it,” to work correctly.

[PRAVDA] Does criticism “from within” have any influence on Gaydar's course?

[Nemtsov] It seems to me that recently Gaydar has started heeding criticism. Look, this is what I consider to be one of my gains, the most important one for the country as a whole. You may recall that the government wanted to free gasoline prices as far back as last spring. I was really incensed about it at the time. I went to Gaydar, if I complained to the president once I did so twenty times—both personally and through the press. I told them that raising the prices of energy sources was one of the IMF's demands. For Russia this would have meant a steep price hike for everything under the sun. The country would become expensive, impoverished, unskilled, and militarized. What is the purpose of all this? To completely isolate our country from the rest of the world. So as to say: Do not go there, everything is expensive there. It is not a country, it is a dump. Nothing but savagery, chaos, and high incidence of crime. In other words, this is a clear-cut policy of the IMF aimed at isolating Russia. Something that the newspapers have never reported.

Following these lengthy discussions, Gaydar decided to postpone raising the prices of energy sources.

[PRAVDA] It cannot be said that this example of your influence on the government was successful. Prices of energy sources have risen sharply.

[Nemtsov] And that was done on the sly. Unfortunately, this decision will cost us dear.

[PRAVDA] The president and the government are saying today that the center of gravity of the reforms' implementation is shifting to the regions. As far as we know, this is what you have been actively seeking.

[Nemtsov] Yes. But subject to one condition. When delegating responsibility for the reforms at regional level, the corresponding powers also ought to be delegated to us. But the center is in no hurry to do this.

For example, there is a draft directive lying on Gaydar's desk now. Point one reads: To give regional privatization committees the right to draw up their own privatization plans, excluding major plants like “Krasnoye Sormovo,” the motor vehicles plant, and the aviation plant. They can be counted on the fingers of one hand. We will deal with the rest by ourselves. But no, they will not let us, they do not trust us.

Point two concerns unemployment. For example, a director sits in his office and quietly dismisses workers. Nobody is taking him to task over this now. As a governor, I would like to be given the right to sack any director who allows mass dismissal of workers. Let him take measures to create new jobs, otherwise he will find himself out on his heels. Such a draft has been lying on Gaydar's desk for more than a month, and meanwhile people are being chucked out of enterprises en masse. Is this normal?

[PRAVDA] Boris Yefimovich, Yavlinskiy's team worked in your oblast for quite a long time. Recommendations were prepared. Tells us about their essence and what specific benefits they could offer people.

[Nemtsov] The program envisages a package of measures aimed at an irreversible and stable process of reforms. It is very specific. For example, enterprises are now shedding social facilities en masse: Kindergartens are closing down, medical centers and housing are being neither repaired nor built. This is evidently the topic of the flood of letters and complaints received by PRAVDA?

[PRAVDA] Yes, this problem does exist.

[Nemtsov] Is the government solving it? No, it is not. What will be the effect on the people of, say, disconnecting apartment blocks from the central heating system. We have actually elaborated a very clear program entitled "Conversion of the Social Sphere." Its essence is that enterprise leaders conclude contracts with city halls, governors, and so on to transfer all their housing and all social and cultural facilities under their departmental jurisdiction to the municipality. Why? In the past directors used to spend up to 90 percent of their profits on housing rather than developing production capacities. Directors now undertake to raise workers' wages using part of the profit which was spent on housing. Specifically, Navashino's "Oka" Shipbuilding Plant has undertaken to raise workers' wages by R1,500 a month. City Hall is undertaking to raise pensions and unemployment benefits. How will this be financed? By higher revenue from citizens' income tax in view of their increased wages. Those in work will then be told: "You get higher wages—pay the going rate for your housing." The going rate in Navashino is R1,800 a month for a two-room apartment and R1,400 for a one-room apartment. If you are not an apartment's sole occupier and you are at work, there will be enough money to pay since subsidies will be increased for everyone. Furthermore, municipalities will take on part of the costs of children's institutions.

If something does not work out, if something misfires, we have an insurance fund (we have found it in our budget) to prevent tensions in society and ensure that people do not have to bear the cost of any mistakes in the reforms. For the time being the experiment will be run just in two rayons, rather than on an oblast-wide scale. We must carefully watch to see what happens. But we will not allow any repetition of what happened at the start of the heating season, when more than 80 apartment blocks—72 of them under departmental jurisdiction—were not connected to the central heating system. Not because the boiler installations were not ready but because there were no funds to buy fuel.

[PRAVDA] But could it happen that payments for housing, kindergartens, medical services, education, and so on will aggravate poverty further still?

[Nemtsov] No. After all, wages will rise sharply, people will have money to pay for social services, while the poor will be helped from the budget.

[PRAVDA] This is hard to believe—let us wait and see the experiment's results. Now we would like to hear something about the Nizhniy Novgorod loan, whose bonds have already been dubbed "Nemtsov Bonds."

[Nemtsov] You know that gasoline coupons have sunk into oblivion. The following problem emerged. For example, each bus driver had to be given R4,000 each morning to fill up. What is involved in giving each driver R4,000 first thing in the morning? First, the money has to be physically issued. A whole network of cash points has to be set up. We have hundreds and thousands of drivers. We had to pay out millions each morning. Leaders of motor transport enterprises came to me and said: "It's a total washout. Nobody will stick to his schedule. We'll end up in a mess with these cash payments."

Suppose that the money had actually been issued. Where was the guarantee that the driver would rush with it to the service station? Let us be frank. Schedules would be disrupted.

The government said: Get rid of coupons. And what next? Paralysis of enterprises' life, disturbances, commotions....

Third point. Lines at service stations. Previously you handed over your coupons, got your tank filled, and were on your way.... Now racketeers descend upon lines at service stations with the accumulation of millions of rubles in cash, and the service station kings turn into bait for criminals. They scream for protection, but you cannot protect everyone, like you do with savings banks.

We found a way out. We said that gasoline would be bought using our bonds with nominal values of R50, R100, R1,000, R5,000, and R10,000. They are printed in Perm and have an eight-level protection against forgery.

But the most important point is that we are giving the "Nefteprodukt" Association a loan of R1 billion as a credit line. It builds up a stock of fuel for a few months ahead. We tell the people: "Your paper bonds are backed by gasoline. Despite inflation, the cost of gasoline will remain virtually stable for you. [end quotes not printed] As the price of oil products rises, there will be a proportional increase of the value of these bonds, invested in the oil industry sector. We are protecting people from inflation. Instead of saving up "Mickey Mouse money" they will be buying bonds which would be almost equivalent to currency.

[PRAVDA] It makes sense. Could this experiment extend throughout Russia?

[Nemtsov] I would have done it had I been in the government's shoes. Now it is looking to the West. People there hardly ever use cash—they have credit cards. Why should our long-distance drivers travel with

a sack full of money? Where is the guarantee that he will reach his destination safely?

[PRAVDA] What are the most promising ideas of the—let us call it Yavlinskiy-Nemtsov—program?

[Nemtsov] Quite a few of them. Setting up a grain bank in the oblast, for example. Each summer the regions ask the government for funds to purchase grain. Why do this when it is possible to receive credit from a new bank? There is also an interesting idea about free registration of enterprises, adopted by the Nizhniy Novgorod City Soviet. The current system is a system of bribery, of state racketeering. We introduced the following procedure: You go to the Post Office, fill in a special form, pay a fee of R2,000, hand over the documents to the official so that he is aware of the enterprise's opening—and work to your heart's content. If you break the law, the relevant organs will take steps. I could also tell you about an experiment whereby we suspended local taxes on trade for one month—goods turnover increased 20-25 percent and prices dropped by approximately the same percentage. We also have our own approach toward the flotation of enterprises and much else. For example, we set up a powerful conversion bank which will make it possible to restructure the defense industry while preserving jobs.

Let me tell you about the main point: Our program of reforms is a program of market relations whereby both the state and people end up the winners. This is the main difference from Gaydar's reforms, which often fail to make it clear why they are implemented and for whose benefit.

[PRAVDA] Could it be said that the reforms being implemented in Nizhniy Novgorod have already had a real impact on people's living standards?

[Nemtsov] There have, of course, been no sharp changes for the better. It is still too early for that. But here is a fact. We have Vladimir Oblast's city of Murom on one bank of the Oka River, and our own Navashino on the other. A loaf of bread costs R18 here, and R30 over there. Let alone the availability of goods. Let me repeat: Much can be done if the center gives more power to the regions. Back in the past, Russia's prosperity was maintained by the zemstvo system of local administration. I am convinced that we must revive this principle.

[PRAVDA] By the way, do you personally share your powers with your subordinates?

[Nemtsov] Not only do I share them, I actually ram them down their throats. Take the highways for example. Road building in the past was planned from this office, where the obkom first secretary used to sit. The first thing I did was to decentralize the highways fund. You need highways? Here is the money, choose your builders by competition, and carry on. The same in everything. Generally I believe that the range of my duties ought to be narrowing with each passing day.

[PRAVDA] Boris Yefimovich, there are too many problems to cover in one single interview. In conclusion, let us set up a blitz-interview: brief question, brief answer.

[Nemtsov] Go ahead.

[PRAVDA] Will the Congress of Russian People's Deputies take place 1 December or will the president still manage to have it postponed until spring?

[Nemtsov] It will take place. I see nothing frightening in this. On the contrary, I think that all branches of power must finally come to reasonable accord at the congress.

[PRAVDA] Could the "right wing" or the "left wing", using different pretexts, provoke Yeltsin into introducing a state of emergency in Russia?

[Nemtsov] I know Yeltsin personally. I can firmly say that he has a very negative attitude toward any acts of violence.

[PRAVDA] The political struggle today is more acute than ever before. How will it end?

[Nemtsov] With the government's resignation.

[PRAVDA] Boris Yefimovich, does it not seem to you that Yeltsin's entourage includes people who are pushing the president into rash statements and actions?

[Nemtsov] Not really, but this often happens. What can you do—the king is molded by his court.

[PRAVDA] But should the king not mold his own court?

[Nemtsov] Do you know the greatest tragedy that could befall such people? To find themselves alone. It does happen that they are not surrounded by the best of people. This is also a tragedy.

[PRAVDA] ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA recently wrote that the subordination of heads of administration will be revised. Burbulis' secretariat will be in charge of you and will be monitoring you.

[Nemtsov] Do what?! I was appointed by the president and I am accountable exclusively to him. I think that the president will not allow any such revision. To put such a lever of power in someone else's hands.... This will end badly for the president himself.

[PRAVDA] Have there been cases of bribery among persons working in the administration?

[Nemtsov] According to Ministry of Security data, Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast has a low level of corruption. This is gratifying. Nonetheless, I have already sacked one employee for shady dealings.

[PRAVDA] Excuse us, Boris Yefimovich, but rumors circulating even in Moscow have it that the oblast is being run by millionaire Klimentyev rather than by Governor Nemtsov. According to press statements by Klimentyev himself, he has joined forces with Nemtsov

on the plank of antibolshevism, on the basis of their shared desire to make Nizhniy Novgorod an oasis of capitalism.

[Nemtsov] Klimentyev is now abusing me in all newspapers. I can tell you why. He came to me at some point and said: "Let's have 100 million, we'll invest the money in a business and we'll make profits." I said: "No!" After that he started abusing me in the worst possible language. You will not find a single decision of mine promoting Klimentyev's business. As a matter of fact, he is leaving Russia for Norway. He said: "I can't work with that Nemtsov, it's like trying to squeeze blood out of a stone."

[PRAVDA] How is your family's income made up, who is your wife, what are your hobbies?

[Nemtsov] My family's income is made up of my own salary, currently standing at R20,000 a month. The salary is set by the Oblast Soviet. As a matter of fact, mine is one of the smallest salaries earned by governors. My wife is a part-time library employee. She earns R1,800, but it would be better if she did not work at all.

I live in a two-room 10th-story apartment. I am doing it up—so any rumors about moving to a larger new apartment are groundless.

I have a daughter, Zhanna, who is a second-grade pupil.

My hobbies are: Driving the official car, playing tennis, wind surfing, and fishing.

[PRAVDA] You are often rebuked for having employed rather too many partyocrats.

[Nemtsov] There are some very skilled, very reliable, and very responsible people, well versed in their jobs, among the former party officials. Second. These people bear no grudges. They have no desire to shoot me or drive me out of office. Generally speaking, I want nothing to do with the enemy image being cultivated by the press. Former [CPSU rayon committee] first secretaries have been appointed heads of administration in some of our oblast's rayons—Lebedev in Shakhunya, Purikhov in Bogorodsk. That is where the reforms are going ahead. That is where everything is calm. That is where roads are being built, that is where hospitals and schools are being opened. For me personally, a man's past is unimportant. His business qualities are important.

[PRAVDA] There are many arguments nowadays about the society in which we live and the society toward which we are advancing. Are you clear in your own mind about this?

[Nemtsov] No. I only know that I will be struggling for a great Russia on the plane of national-state building. Speaking of the economic system, I am an advocate of private property and market reforms. That is all.

International Affairs**Foreign Minister Anticipates No Changes in Foreign Policy***OW1311164592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1440 GMT 13 Nov 92*

[From "Diplomatic Panorama" prepared by correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, and Igor Porshnev—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Changes in the Ukrainian government will not bring about any changes in Ukraine's foreign policy, Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko told DP [Diplomatic Panorama]. He said that relations with Russia still remain a priority issue. "Good relations with Russia are a strategic aspect of the Ukrainian foreign policy," he said.

The Ukrainian foreign minister said, however, that it would be premature to speak about any coordination of the Russian and Ukrainian foreign policies in relation to foreign states. This would not correspond to the two countries' conceptual approaches, he added. Russia is a Eurasian state and Ukraine—a purely European country. This alone explains why our foreign-policy interests are different, he said.

Speaking about the future of the CIS, he said that "Kiev is closely following the CIS activity and is not trying to initiate its break-up". He noted, however, that Ukraine and other CIS members are worried by the fact the CIS does not work the way it should and that the adopted decisions are not implemented. "If this tendency persists, the CIS will hardly survive," said Zlenko.

Foreign Minister Protests Yugoslav Detention of Ships on Danube*OW1311204992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1918 GMT 13 Nov 92*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Ministry lodged a protest to the Yugoslav leadership after the "Ukraina" passenger ship and two caravans with cargo owned by the Danube steamship line were detained on their approach to the Yugoslav section of the Danube. The ships were detained, according to the Foreign Affairs Ministry, in connection with the fact that Yugoslavia introduced a one sided collection procedure for the passage of ships into its section of Danube.

A message sent from the Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Ministry to the Yugoslav embassy in Moscow Friday notes that the accumulation of a significant number of ships represents a threat to normal shipping on the main European river.

Noting that Yugoslavia's actions contradict the 1948 Convention on the Shipping Regulations on the Danube,

the Foreign Affairs Ministry has demanded stopping self-government and abolishing payments for transit on the Yugoslavian part.

Government Decides To Join UN Refugee Status Convention*LD1311153692 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0721 GMT 13 Nov 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Sitnikov]

[Text] United Nations November 13 TASS—Ukraine has decided to join the United Nations Refugee Status Convention of 1951 and the Protocol of 1966, V.K. Zabigaylo, Ukraine's representative announced on Thursday in the third committee (social and humanitarian affairs) of the U.N. General Assembly's 47th session during discussions on the U.N. High Commissioner of Refugee Affairs' report.

Ukraine became directly involved in the problem of refugees, +when in 1992 as a result of bloody clashes in the neighbouring state - the Republic of Moldova - hordes of refugees poured into the Ukrainian territory as well as from other newly independent CIS countries which were not isolated incidents,+ the Ukrainian representative said.

Another extremely complicated problem for Ukraine was such deported people as Tatars, Germans, Greeks, Armenians who were forced to become refugees in 1930-50s. Today the number of representatives of these peoples, wishing to return to Ukraine, exceeds 500 thousand.

Zabigaylo pointed out the necessity of strengthening of interrelation of international help to refugees with national programmes of development and allocation of financial resources from the U.N. for these purposes.

National Affairs**President Kravchuk Explains Monetary Reform***LD1311185192 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 12 Nov 92*

[Statement by President Leonid Kravchuk to Ukraine Television and Radio Company staff in Kiev on 12 November—recorded]

[Text] Most esteemed compatriots. I am addressing you on an issue, which is very important to all of us, which is really key in implementing anticrisis measures at the present stage and in implementing economic reforms. This is the reform of the monetary system, which will doubtless occupy a central place in the transition to a market economy. In the last few days I have signed a relevant decree, which envisages organizational, technical, and other measures in implementing reform, starting from 2300 today.

We know well that in the past the expression "monetary reform" has always concerned the population, and above all agitation about the fate of personal savings. But this time these fears are groundless. For it is not about the reform of the existing monetary system but about the systematic work of introducing our own national currency. This is the both the essence and the unique nature of our reform.

All of this work will be carried out in two stages. At the moment we are entering the first stage of the reform, when we are introducing the coupon into non-cash circulation and are carrying out important measures regarding the development of a national monetary system on the basis now of the Ukrainian karbovanets. And it is a great shame that for various objective and subjective reasons we are doing this with a certain lateness. There were a lot of discussions, but little action, which then led to rather lamentable consequences. And so it is now necessary to make up for the lost time and opportunities, and to go along the planned route more decisively and consistently. The people, the nation, can only win on the road of organization, work and responsibility. And this is not simply a slogan. History and conclusions from history have confirmed that no other way exists. The development of all peoples and states has again historically confirmed this conclusion. We should keep to a balance between our wishes and our possibilities. And the next stage will then be the introduction of the grivna. And it will begin after the necessary measures for stabilizing the economy and deepening economic reforms have been carried out, after the Ukrainian karbovanets, which we are introducing, has carried all of the first shocks of monetary reform.

I would like to emphasize especially that the reform of the monetary system which has begun now mainly touches the interests of enterprise structures. And so, regarding the citizens of Ukraine, reform in fact already began to be implemented as from the beginning of this year with the introduction of coupons into cash circulation.

Today the next necessary measure is beginning to be carried out. In the very near future it will allow us to overcome the difficulties which were caused by the gap between the coupons in cash circulation and the ruble in non-cash circulation. At last the population and entrepreneurs are receiving the opportunity to put into practice the free, civilized exchange of coupons for rubles through banks and other state and commercial structures.

I emphasize, that in this way the Ukrainian karbovanets, as a new monetary unit, is being introduced into circulation only in relation to enterprises and other managed bodies. And it is being introduced without the smallest losses for the population, or harm to it, to their material interests. And so a full, I emphasize, a full exchange of non-cash rubles for Ukrainian karbovanets is being carried out.

At the same time the coupon, which was introduced into circulation at the beginning of this year, is acquiring all

the signs of a real monetary unit, and is fulfilling all the inherent functions of money, naturally with the exception of world money. Because the function of world money is carried out only by gold.

We are going to introduce the coupon into non-cash circulation to overcome the fall in production, which has been caused by the distrust of the population, and this is true, and of entrepreneurs in the coupon in connection with the uncertainty of its status and its prospects as a real currency. And so this has caused the desire to get rid of coupons, and not to accumulate them or carry out production investments.

Some people maintain that the introduction of a national currency would lead to the severing of economic links with partners in Russia and other states of the CIS. But at the same time they do not want to notice that everything that could be severed was severed a long time ago. And now it is necessary to create new links on new principles, and on principles of mutual advantage and partnership, on principles of protecting the interests of one's own people.

Another important point. The ruble has in fact not existed as a single currency for a long time now. Because in every state a significant difference exists in purchasing power. And this means that other levers for influencing the flow of goods between states do not exist either, only administrative interference. And so that extraordinary situation of a practically complete stopping of payments in interstate accounts, which was caused by delaying the introduction of the Ukrainian karbovanets and establishing its real rate in relation to the currencies of other states, has forced us into this. This was the main reason.

This is our opportunity to renew severed links with CIS countries and rebuild them on civilized principles of partnership. In establishing the rate of our own currency in accordance with its realistic purchasing power, we are preventing a multi-billion [currency not specified] turnover of speculative capital, which operated as a parasite in making use of a single monetary unit under conditions of a complete difference in the level of prices in Ukraine and other states of the CIS. This is a very important point.

In this way the very introduction of the coupon into non-cash circulation allows us to develop mutually advantageous production links, necessary for the existence of the economy of Ukraine, with other states of the ruble zone. It is for this very matter that we are introducing a policy of internal conversion of the Ukrainian karbovanets in relation to the ruble.

This means that Ukraine is not leaving the economic space of the CIS, but intends only to introduce a system of economic regulation in its trade and economic relations with other states.

In introducing a national currency, Ukraine is entering a new stage of nation-building. It is acquiring the status of a state, which is in complete control of its own economic

space. And it is because of this that I am sure that these steps will be perceived with understanding by the citizens of Ukraine, as steps that correspond to their national interests. Naturally, in my short speech I cannot dwell on all the details of the first stage of the monetary reform. But I would like to report that during these past few days members of the government, executives of the National Bank, and leading experts in financial matters, who will throw light on various aspects of the problem, will appear before you.

As president, elected by the people, I want to assure you all, esteemed citizens, esteemed friends, that the population will not incur any losses from the reforms. This is in fact the main purpose of my appearance. I call on everyone to implement this matter in an organized way, responsibly, in conditions of complete mutual understanding and public calm.

I thank you sincerely for your attention.

Official Denies Knowledge of Independent Nuclear Weapons Codes

LD1411142492 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2300 GMT 13 Nov 92

[Text] Ukrainian Deputy Defense Minister Tarasyuk has said that he does not know anything about any kind of attempts to draw up Ukraine's own nuclear weapons codes. Tarasyuk, who heads the Ukrainian Committee for Disarmament, said this in an interview with Radio Liberty, commenting on an article in THE NEW YORK TIMES. The article asserted that one of the institutes in Kharkov is working out new nuclear weapons codes.

Kravchuk Chairs Meeting of Constitutional Commission

LD1311175292 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 13 Nov 92

[Text] Yesterday, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk chaired a sitting of the working group of the constitutional commission. Our correspondent, Oleksiy Berezenko, reports:

[Berezenko] The discussion of the Fundamental Law is already close to an end, and of course, it would not be an exaggeration to say that the commission has received over 21,000 proposals and remarks, including 6,000 from citizens of Ukraine and 630 from public organizations, movements, and parties. At the sitting, it was noted that 10 oblast councils of people's deputies have categorically rejected the draft of the new constitution and 14 have proposed that substantial work should be carried out on it even without submitting it to the first reading.

There are many remarks and proposals concerning citizenship, introduction of the state status of the language, guarantees of (?forms) of property, the procedure of adoption of the Fundamental Law. In particular, it has

been proposed to introduce dual citizenship, to determine the state status of the language, and to have the new constitution adopted by the whole nation. But the majority of the polar ideas of Ukrainian citizens, deputies, and councils have been provoked by Article 2 of the draft constitution. This article pertains to the local self-government and local state administration. The draft of the new constitution does not clearly define the status of these power structures, and many problems arise these days in localities in relations between councils and state administrations. Members of the working group discussed various ideas on how to form executive and representative structures in rayon and oblast centers. Today, it was stressed at the sitting that councils not having executive structures have become opposed to state administrations.

Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, who is also head of the constitutional commission, has instructed the working group to work out a format, the most acceptable for Ukraine, for the function and interaction of representative and executive structures, proceeding from the scientific (?base) and foreign experience. The idea of an (?eternal) constitution, said Leonid Kravchuk, does not justify itself. We have to prepare a constitution that will work effectively from the first day of its adoption. The president of Ukraine spoke in favor of the new constitution being adopted by next year.

Cabinet Adopts Resolution on Customs Checks at Border

LD1411023892 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Television Network in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 13 Nov 92

[Text] The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers has adopted a resolution on measures regarding the organization of border customs checks at Ukraine's state border with the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation. In particular it envisages the establishment of border customs checks while maintaining customs procedures generally accepted in world practice.

Cabinet Establishes, Abolishes Executive Bodies

LD141110692 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2300 GMT 13 Nov 92

[Text] The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers has introduced changes to the system of bodies of state executive power within its jurisdiction. By means of a relevant resolution, the State Committee for Oil and Gas, the State Committee for Utilization of Nuclear Power Engineering, and the State Committee for Tourism have been set up. The Chief Directorate of Protection of State Secrets in the Press and other Mass Media, attached to the Cabinet of Ministers, has been turned into the State Committee for the Protection of State Secrets in the Press and other Mass Media. The State Committee for the Press and the State Fund for Ukrainian Cinematography have been abolished. The implementation of general state policies in publishing, the registration of printed media, and checks on the fulfillment of state

orders for textbooks and certain other publications are entrusted to the Ministry of Culture, in which the Directorate of Film Production and Film Hire will be based.

Donetsk Miners Stage 24-Hour Warning Strike

*LD1411230792 Kiev UKRINFORM in Russian 1613
GMT 13 Nov 92*

[By correspondents Nikolay Stolyarov and Sergey Savchenko]

[Text] Donetsk, 13 Nov—A 24-hour warning strike by miners has begun. It is once again crowded on October Square of this oblast center. A meeting of miners began here this morning. Among those assembled were representatives of most of the coal enterprises of the town.

Miners of 19 Donetsk mines supported the strike. Representatives of a number of the town's enterprises also showed solidarity with them. Although work is continuing there, people are supporting the strikers' demands. Despite the strike, the miners themselves are also working. However, the dispatching of coal has been suspended. The strike has found adherents not only in Donetsk, but in other towns of Donetsk and Lugansk oblasts as well. According to the statement by representatives of the Donetsk town workers—strike—committee, meetings and assemblies will take place here. The miners are demanding: cancellation of the adoption of the law on the procedure for resolving collective labor disputes—conflicts—until the lockout is unconditionally cancelled, and cancellation of the articles that encroach on human rights and deprive the workers of the right to defend their vitally important interests and political freedoms. The miners are also trying to secure the introduction into the law on insurance the rights of trade unions to regulate the personalization [personalizatsiya] of funds of State Social Insurance and Social Insurance—in agreement with the workers—to personal accounts. The miners are also protesting against the policies of the national and other banks, which are earning income for themselves by means of instituting high interest rates. They consider that payments of both wages—and funds for settling accounts for ensuring the functioning of enterprises is guaranteed—must be made.

The position of workers' trade unions is shared by the presidium of that authoritative public organization, the Civic Congress of Ukraine. It has appealed to the people's deputies of Ukraine with a proposal to introduce adjustments into the draft law immediately.

Leader of Rukh Explains Organization's Goals

*PM1311144192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in
Russian 6 Nov 92 First Edition p 7*

[Interview with Rukh leader Vyacheslav Chornovil by Boris Sverdlov in Kiev; date not given: "I Want Russians in Ukraine to Live Better Than in Russia"]

[Text] In the battle for the presidency a year ago, he came in second behind L. Kravchuk. In fact, in Ukraine's three westernmost oblasts, he gained an overwhelming majority. If Rukh, the most powerful and best organized party, had found support in central Ukraine and in its most densely populated southeastern region, Vyacheslav Chornovil would have been the recipient of congratulations.

Nowadays, however, Rukh is not so popular. Why? This was the starting point of my conversation with the leader of the party, former chairman of Lvov Oblast Soviet, and hetman of the Ukrainian Cossacks.

[Chornovil] Rukh's negative image was created by communist propaganda, which regarded it as a sworn enemy. We were portrayed as ultranationalists, extremists, and dissenters ignorant of democratic principles. In the conditions prevailing at the time, we could do little to challenge this myth. We were fighting on too many fronts. Dispelling it has proved difficult.

In reality, Rukh's objective is to create a real democratic state. You will be convinced of this if you read our program. Two different approaches clashed while it was being drawn up. The first favored building a state at any price. The second aimed at building a civic society with respect for human rights and observance of all democratic principles. The latter approach triumphed.

I do not deny that there are ultranationalist forces in Rukh. But they are few in number. Russia has some of its own. Zhirinovskiy alone is evidence of that.

I feel the time has come for people to see Rukh differently. It is now the most important political organization in Ukraine. Other parties are not even capable of agitating at the right level.

[Sverdlov] But, Mr. Chornovil, the mere mention of Rukh in the Crimea prompts an allergic reaction. Especially since Mr. Khmara's visit to Sevastopol. How can you say that no one on the peninsula is familiar with your program?

[Chornovil] Mr. Khmara has never been a member of our party. The press, radio, and television are all monopolized in the Crimea, you see. I am barred from speaking on Crimean television, for example. Our positions are also weak in the Donbass. The reasons are similar: The old nomenklatura is still present at all levels of power, conducting one-sided propaganda. It is perfectly well aware that, if Rukh gains the upper hand, it will have to give up its comfortable positions. Of all the former Soviet republics, Ukraine is still the one most dominated by the nomenklatura. Only the flags have changed....

But Rukh must represent a great force, because everything done is ascribed to us. Even the organization of the current student strike. The students use the same slogans, they say: the resignation of parliament and Ukraine's withdrawal from the CIS....

[Sverdlov] What made you give up your post as chairman of Lvov Oblast Soviet and become absorbed in pure politics?

[Chornovil] I was essentially stripped of power by the adoption of the law on presidential representatives. My post became purely symbolic and my position dependent as a result. I could not be reconciled to this, as I consider the law on deputies to be parliament's biggest mistake. It has simply copied Russia. But at least there presidential representatives have counterweights. In our case, however, the situation is worse than it was under oblast and rayon party committee first secretaries. Representatives are a very dangerous power structure, because they are totally independent of those below and totally dependent on those above. Kravchuk has created all the conditions for a dictatorship, although he himself will never be a dictator. It is amazing: He has assumed some legislative power but never exercises it. He was given the right to form a government, but he stubbornly clung on to the old cabinet of ministers, which we have only just managed to get rid of.

The other reason for my departure is that, after Ukraine declared independence, the center of political life shifted to Kiev.

[Sverdlov] During the election campaign, you said that Ukraine should have a land federation structure. Then you suddenly changed your mind. Why?

[Chornovil] Because the tenacious old nomenklatura could exploit this at local level. As it has done in the Crimea, in fact, where it has created a communist preserve which stirs things up. A union of communists is even legal there. If we start hacking Ukraine into individual lands, the same will happen in the Donbass. We can return to the land federation principle when we have at least laid the foundations of a democratic society.

[Sverdlov] But the desired consolidation of forces in western and eastern Ukraine will not take place before that. The east is firmly in favor of a land federation structure and bilingualism....

[Chornovil] I am sorry, but it is simply ludicrous to talk about forced Ukrainianization in the Donbass, where the process of Russification is at its strongest, despite the fact that the majority of people living there are Ukrainian. The first Ukrainian school was only recently opened in Donetsk. There were as many as 20 applicants for each place. But no one is in any hurry to open another school like it....

State language is the language of official documents. There are very few Russians in Ukraine who do not speak Ukrainian. Besides, the languages are very similar. We are not talking about Lithuanian or Estonian. No one prohibits Russians from studying in Russian schools. I recently visited the Kuban, where there are very many Ukrainians. Local residents raised the question of the need to open a Ukrainian school. Statesmen responded by saying: Certainly, as long as Ukraine foots the bill. We

do not propose that Russia finance all Russian schools in Ukraine. There are thousands of them! We have a wealth of Russian-language newspapers, and a considerable number of radio and television programs are in Russian. Language problems are being artificially created. They are raised by parties like the Ukrainian Congress and the Republican Movement of the Crimea. Rukh's policy has been and remains the most democratic and loyal to the Russian population. We even proposed the slogan: "Let us build a Ukraine where Russians live better than in Moscow and Jews better than in Jerusalem." Admittedly, we had to abandon it when the economy fell to Russia's level....

[Sverdlov] Mr. Chornovil, judging by the leaflets, Rukh is now categorically demanding the dissolution of parliament....

[Chornovil] Because it is ruining the country! The present Supreme Soviet was formed in semicolonial conditions, under one-party diktat, and with real terror during the elections. In most electoral districts, there was absolutely no possibility to register alternative candidates. We raised the question of parliament's dissolution a long time ago, but the atmosphere became less tense during the August coup, when parliament—probably out of fright—voted for Ukraine's independence. Then it adopted a series of good laws, economic laws included.

But then conservative forces united again, in order to block democratic initiatives and well-considered laws. The total collapse of the economy is the result. That is why we have launched a major campaign to collect signatures to hold a referendum, which will raise the question of early Supreme Soviet elections. We have already collected 200,000 signatures.

[Sverdlov] Are you pinning your hopes on L. Kuchma's new cabinet of ministers?

[Chornovil] I can see some cautious optimism in the new premier's program. New people have appeared in the cabinet. Admittedly, most of them used to work in production, but they do have some fresh ideas. Kuchma himself is in favor of reforms. He says they should have been started two years ago, rather than in the present slump. With the economy in collapse, we cannot possibly copy the Polish solution or, at worst, the Russian approach. He has asked that his cabinet be spared strong criticism for six months at least. In my opinion, his trouble is that he has spent 32 years working at the same enterprise. Many see this as a positive factor, but I feel a premier should have a broader outlook. If his associates do not help him to broaden his views, we are unlikely to make any progress.

[Sverdlov] Rukh has another and equally categorical demand: withdrawal from the CIS....

[Chornovil] The CIS is conventional. We must aim solely for bilateral ties. Primarily with Russia. We are so tied to one another, that any attempts to cut the knot would lead to a mutual deterioration in all sectors of

industry. If Ukraine has an interest in Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, or Belarus, it should go ahead and reach an agreement with them. Why should we need a new center in the shape of the CIS? We had enough with the old center in Russia, which extorted everything it could and used it for goodness knows what. It engendered the ugly military-industrial complex. A military bloc is no longer needed, because the potential enemy has evaporated. So we do not need common strategic forces. A consultative body where leaders can talk things over is another matter.

[Sverdlov] Do you feel that current Russian-Ukrainian relations are normal and promising?

[Chornovil] I do not perceive any direct threat from Russia. Clearly, the empire existed for several centuries and it is hard to get used to the new realities. Some of our

public figures are calling for unity in the face of Russian occupation. Rubbish! I make no bones about my opinion on the subject. I am even accused of losing my patriotism, especially as I have been fighting for an independent Ukraine since the late fifties. I spent 15 years in jail for that reason.

Yes, there was friction between Ukraine and Russia after the August events. It stemmed from our president, who was very jealous of Yeltsin. Relations became warmer after the talks in Dagomys and Yalta, although far from everything satisfied me personally. Even our extreme patriots, who had played the anti-Russian card, fell silent. So if Russia ceases to view Ukraine as one of its provinces and removes stumbling blocks in the economy, such as the ban on the export of its goods or demands for prepayment (of which it is guilty), the future will look promising. I believe in friendship.

Belarus**Prime Minister Critical of Agriculture Ministry's Barter Deals***OW1311180792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1708 GMT 13 Nov 92*

[From "Presidential Bulletin" prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In a meeting with local government press representatives Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich said he plans to establish a government monopoly in foreign trade, in particular, in the trade of potash fertilizer. The prime minister said he was driven to this decision by "senseless and useless" barter deals conducted with the approval of individual leaders of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture. "Why barter potash fertilizer for some product abroad when Belarus can sell the fertilizer for hard currency and buy products it needs?", Kebich queried.

Kebich criticized ministry director Fedor Mirochitsky for what he called the irrational use of government subsidies to agriculture. The minister sent allocated funds to the leaders of various districts who in turn directed the funds to the payroll of processing firms rather than to develop production, said the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

"As of January 1st Belarus will cut off subsidies to agriculture", Kebich said, stating that the government plans to "subsidize consumers", that is, will pay out approximately 500 rubles a month. The cabinet head said that "prices on vodka and housing will be raised soon". Until the new year prices for all other product will be held at present levels, Kebich said.

The prime minister commented on the current economic conditions in Belarus, saying that the drop in production was kept at 4.5 percent in October. "This is not bad compared with the first few months of the year", Kebich said. The head of the Cabinet of Ministers said that the production slump "will be even smaller" in December.

Belarus plans to make several changes in the republic's Cabinet of Ministers. Kebich said that government structures will be reorganized as well, increasing the status of ministers. Many regional subdivisions of the Council of Ministers will be replaced "by a small staff of advisers".

Parliament Subordinates Republican KGB to Supreme Council*OW1311214492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1439 GMT 13 Nov 92*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to a resolution passed by the Belarusian parliament on 12 November, the KGB is to be subordinated to the republic's Supreme Council, and, in the period between sessions, to its presidium. The parliament resolved to establish a special group of deputies to control the activity of the KGB.

Commenting to an INTERFAX correspondent on the results of the debate on the question, Eduard Shirkovskiy, the head of the department, expressed satisfaction with the Supreme Council's decision, calling the resolution only fair.

On the same day, the Supreme Council passed a law entitled "On Operative Information-Gathering Activity," by which regulates control over postal and telegraph communications, the listening in on telephone conversations, and the tapping into information lines.

One Million Signatures Support Private Ownership of Land*OW1311214092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1438 GMT 13 Nov 92*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In just one day Thursday the Moscow headquarters to organize a referendum on private ownership of land has gathered nearly 120 thousand signatures. Director of headquarters Igor Yakovenko told "INTERFAX" that one million signatures were gathered a week ago, and said this was not announced for fear of slowing the process. Yakovenko said the results of the signature gathering were learned only in the last 2-3 weeks, since prior to this the process had given no reason for optimism.

Signatures are also being collected among people's deputies. However, the results will be known later. Yakovenko said in spite of the large number of invalid signatures, the number needed for the referendum will most likely be collected.

Yakovenko said petitioning was held in all areas of the Russian Federation to one extent or another, with the exception of the Chechen republic. After November 18th the petitions will be sent to local officials, and on to Parliament, which must determine a period for the referendum to be held within one month and no later than four months from receipt of the signatures.

Moldova**Vice Premier Presages Impact of Conflict, Drought***LD1311170692 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1158 GMT 13 Nov 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayiskiy]

[Text] Moscow November 13 TASS—"Moldova will feel the aftermaths of the recent armed conflict and this

year's drought in 1993. These calamities have caused losses running into 80 billion roubles, which is equivalent to approximately the annual national income," Vice-Premier of the Moldovan Government Valentin Kunev told the republican Supreme Soviet the other day, ITAR-TASS was informed by the Dniester Olvia-Press agency.

Addressing the Moldovan Parliament, Kunev noted that the new government had assumed office at a time when all the state resources, ensuring normal economic development, were exhausted. About 30 billion roubles were blocked on the bank accounts of enterprises, which made mutual settlements among them impossible. Spendings on the liquidation of the armed conflict's consequences are growing steadily. As much as 450 million roubles are needed to resettle refugees from the Left Bank of the Dniester.

"Talks are now being conducted with the Central Bank of Russia, which is blocking settlements with Moldova for more than a month," the vice-premier noted. Some eight billion roubles, transferred from Moldova, have accumulated there by now. The bank did not even handle the corresponding documents. Russia is expected to grant Moldova a new credit and to deblock accounts before the inter-republican settlement of debts.

According to Kunev, the necessary stockpiles of fuel, except coal, have been accumulated in Moldova for winter time.

President's Adviser Wants Quicker Action From Parliament

OW1311180292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1709 GMT 13 Nov 92

[From "Presidential Bulletin" prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Moldovan Parliament was to have discussed the special status of the Dniester regions two months ago, but still has not done so, presidential adviser Nikolai Kirtoake said in an exclusive interview with "INTERFAX's" Vladimir Novossadyuk. Kirtoake said the government is extremely disturbed over the fact that the republic has failed to move on to the next stage of regulation.

The government adviser said that peacekeeping forces stationed in the region cannot be kept there forever. "This is not a solution to the problem, but only a means through which to set the stage for a return to the positions which caused the conflict in the first place", Kirtoake said. "Someone is trying to create the impression that the peacekeeping forces were brought in to end the conflict. This is an incorrect approach and false logic, and will interfere in normalizing conditions in the republic".

Snegur's adviser said that the time has come to discuss the special status of Moldova's Dniester region. The adviser said the dialogue should first begin on a bilateral basis, and later include specialists in ethnic rights, local self-government, etc.

Parliament must not delay a decision on this issue, linking it to a law on administrative and territorial reforms in Moldova, Kirtoake said. The adviser said this would be risking the farm. Kirtoake said the issue of granting the Dniester region special status should be conducted in stages: "Firstly, working groups must be created to discuss a draft of the document. Then a parliamentary committee should be formed, including representatives from the Left Bank. The committee would discuss documents prepared by experts and specialists. The final goal will be to pass a special parliamentary decision on the Dniester region. This decision could take the form of a law or other document at the discretion of the deputies. However, work must be begun as soon as possible".

Official Stresses Peace, Development in Foreign Policy

OW1311164292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1441 GMT 13 Nov 92

[From "Diplomatic Panorama" prepared by correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboinikov, and Igor Porshnev—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The main goal of Moldova's foreign policy is peace and steady economic development, Deputy-Foreign Minister Ion Chebuk told DP [Diplomatic Panorama].

He confirmed Chisinau's adherence to the CSCE human-rights principles and said that there is no talk about discrimination against ethnic Russians in Moldova.

Chebuk accused Russia's anti-democratic forces of fanning tensions in Moldova under the pretext of the defence of ethnic Russians. These forces are supporting the Dniester separatists who have started establishing ministries and departments of their own, he said. Chebuk believes that the provision on granting a special status to Dniester which had been drafted in Tiraspol and submitted to Moldovan parliament, goes against the principles of the international law.

"Moldova's eastern regions may be given the maximum independence in tackling their economic and even individual political problems," said Chebuk. He gave to understand, however, that Chisinau will not put up either with a federative or confederative set-up of the republic. And yet, Chisinau is ready to give Dniester the right to self-determination "in case Moldova joins Romania". "But this question is not on the agenda at the moment," he went on to say. "The Dniester leaders are deliberately exaggerating its importance to justify their anti-constitutional actions," he said.

He also expressed hope that bloodshed in Dniester will not repeat itself and that clashes will be avoided.

Volunteers' Movement Holds Founding Session

AU1411182192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1757 GMT 14 Nov 92

[Text] Chisinau (ROMPRES) 14/11/1992—Saturday, November 14, to the attendance of nearly 1,000 volunteers and invited guests, a meeting was held in the National Palace of Chisinau to found the Volunteers' Movement of Moldova, a sociopolitical organization called upon to fight for national redemption and liberation.

First Deputy Speaker of Parliament Ion Hadarca, Christian and Democratic People's Front leader Mircea Druc, Chisinau City Mayor Nicolae Costin, government representatives, intellectuals and deputies attended.

The Romanian national anthem "Desteapta-te Romane" (Wake Up, Romanian) sounded in the hall at the beginning of the meeting. A minute's silence was observed to the memory of "the many" who died during the military conflict in the eastern regions of the republic.

The volunteers' movement intends to be "a political body able to consolidate the democratic forces for the revival of the national liberation movement on a national scale."

The demand was uttered on the occasion for non-adherence to CIS (the Commonwealth of Independent States).

Demands End to Russian Interference

AU1511151292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1402 GMT 15 Nov 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 15/11/1992—The first congress of the Republic of Moldova's Volunteers, learning about the social-political situation in the eastern districts of the republic, states that the signing of the Moldovan-Russian Convention led to the cessation of the military operations but it did not put an end to the aggression against the Republic of Moldova, to the anti-constitutional putsch and the occupation state in the eastern districts, reads the statement-appeal adopted at the end of the congress proceedings.

The Moldovan population (the Romanians) in that area—the statement further reads—is submitted to genocide, tens of people simply vanish, other patriots are tortured in the Tiraspol regime prisons, the Moldovan children are deprived of the right to study in their mother tongue (in the Latin alphabet), the legal mass media have been liquidated.

The removal of Romania and Ukraine from the negotiations within the quadripartite mechanism has created a negative situation, the Republic of Moldova's diplomacy—which lacks experience—having to face Russia's diplomatic apparatus.

The first congress of the volunteers demands the parliament, the president and the government of the Republic of Moldova to take firm measures for the recovery of the social-economic situation, to urgently introduce national currency and to adopt the privatisation programme, to take the necessary measures to put an end to the occupation of the republic's eastern districts not by unjustified retreats and political inconsistency..., to get the sooner withdrawal of the 14th Army from Moldova's territory, to no longer admit Russia's brutal interference into the Republic of Moldova's internal affairs, to make international fora involve in the settlement of the problems in the eastern districts, the statement-appeal reads.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Says Commonwealth Future Hinges on Minsk Summit

OW1411154292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1357 GMT 14 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan feels the upcoming Commonwealth summit in Minsk must mark a watershed in inter-Commonwealth relations. Talking to newsmen in Alma-Ata Friday, the Kazakh President said the summit must finally decide whether the Commonwealth republics opted for real cooperation or preferred to separate and resort each to its own devices. The President stressed the Commonwealth peoples expected their leaders to take principled decisions and it was high time the Commonwealth leaders met their expectations.

Nursultan Nazarbayev felt the Commonwealth rouble zone must have a special bank for inter-republican payments. In his view, it would be up to this bank to decide how much money must be printed and emitted for circulation.

Nazarbayev felt the success of the reforms in the Commonwealth republics was hinged on the Russian reform. He stressed that Boris Yeltsin was a legitimately elected President who safeguarded national stability. The Kazakh leader described his relations with the Russian President as good and pointed out Russia, more than any other Commonwealth republic, needed consolidation.

Addressing Kazakhstan's domestic problems, Nazarbayev said local authorities ignored his executive orders and national legislation. He felt control must be tightened of performance by the local governments. A national control board must be set up with this end in view under the President. The control board would be expected to see to it that the local governments act in compliance with decisions adopted in Alma-Ata.

Nazarbayev Foresees No Change in U.S. Relations

LD1311175492 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 13 Nov 92

[Excerpts] President Nursultan Nazarbayev held a news conference today. [passage omitted]

He asked journalists to show the maximum objectivity in covering acute problems of concern to everybody in Kazakhstan and not to allow disinformation in the hunt for sensation. Nursultan Nazarbayev specially stressed that the role of the press in society essentially should be to stabilize and not destroy. He declared that both he and his entire staff are always ready to give the very fullest information to any journalist on any issue. Here is an excerpt of the president's speech at the news conference.

[Begin Nazarbayev recording] [Passage omitted] You will probably be interested in any change in our mutual relations after Clinton's inauguration. First, on my last visit to speak at the UN I had the chance to meet him. Well, perhaps our previous Soviet mentality came into play there—I did not think it necessary to interfere in their election process, because it was then at its peak, every day and night on television. Perhaps I should have, but I had a meeting with his very closest aides, and we had major talks on all topics. It is a fact that U.S. policy does not change with the inauguration of a new president. [end recording]

Investment Coupons Centerpiece of Privatization Program

OW1311180492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1709 GMT 13 Nov 92

[From "Presidential Bulletin" prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Kazakh government will send the president a new privatization within the next few days for approval, Prime Minister Sergey Tereschenko said in an interview with "INTERFAX".

The new program states that citizens of the republic will be issued investment coupons with a face value in prearranged units, rather than rubles. Tereschenko stressed that all 17 mn [million] Kazakhs must participate in the privatization program and each must receive "his share of government property". The prime minister said that until recently the population was deprived of the right to participate in privatization.

The prime minister said, in response to a question on the Kazakh program to transfer government property to the people, that each citizen's share "cannot be expressed in rubles". Unlike the Russian voucher system, the Kazakh program envisages a mechanism under which "investment coupons will not be devalued". The prime minister did not expand on the details of the system for issuing and using the "Kazakh voucher". Tereschenko said all fixed assets must be reassessed to determine the real value of the investment coupons.

The prime minister said that until Nazarbayev confirms the new program and a clear-cut and precise system for reassessing fixed assets "the government considers it advisable to temporarily halt the privatization process in Kazakhstan".

Nazarbayev Announces Grain Statistics; 6 Million Tons for Export

OW1311210092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1917 GMT 13 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Kazakhstan is trying to enter the world market as a major grain exporter. This was announced in Alma-Ata Friday by President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev. He spoke at a meeting in honor of Agricultural Workers' Day, which will be observed November 15.

Nazarbayev reported that the gross volume of grain in Kazakhstan increased by 323 mn [million] tons in 1992.

Kazakh Vice Premier and Minister of Agriculture Boltash Tursumbayev told participants in the meeting that Kazakhstan plans to sell to CIS nations and several other countries 6 mn tons from this year's harvest; 1 mn tons will be sold for hard currency. The proceeds, he said, will be used to purchase agricultural equipment.

Foreign Minister Urges Unity in Facing Crisis

OW1311165092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1440 GMT 13 Nov 92

[From "Diplomatic Panorama" prepared by correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, and Igor Porshnev—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Kazakhstan attaches priority importance to relations with Russia and other former Soviet republics, Foreign Minister Tuleutai Suleymenov told DP [Diplomatic Panorama]. "We can only overcome the deep economic crisis if we stay together," he said. In view of this, Alma-Ata will take measures to consolidate the CIS and the single rouble and economic entity.

Suleymenov does not agree with the forces in Russia and Kazakhstan which come out for redrawing the current borders between these states. "The mere raising of this question is unproductive," he said.

Suleymenov also said that Kazakhstan does not intend to raise the problem of redrawing its borders with Russia. "There are other urgent problems we are to tackle," he said in conclusion.

Deputy Premier Calls For Closer Economic Ties With Turkey

TA1311182492 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1700 GMT 13 Nov 92

[Text] Kazakh Deputy Prime Minister Myrzatay Dzholdasbekov has said that his country wants to exploit its rich mineral reserves in cooperation with Turkey. He said: Such cooperation will be commercially and economically beneficial for both countries.

Replying to questions by Turkish Radio and Television correspondent Zafer Aktugra in Alma-Ata, Dzholdasbekov said that his country views the future of Turkish-Kazakh cooperation, which has been strengthened in the last two years, as very promising. Describing the summit in Ankara last month as a significant step in cooperation among the Turkic republics, Dzholdasbekov further

noted the benefits of reviving the historic silk road. Pointing out that if a transportation agreement is signed Kazakhstan can reach the Black Sea via the Caspian Sea, Dzholdasbekov added that in this way the exclusion of Kazakhstan from the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Project can be prevented.

Nazarbayev Appoints New Finance Minister

LD1311140392 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1500 GMT 12 Nov 92

[Text] By decree of the president of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Yerkesbay Derbisov has been appointed as finance minister of the Republic of Kazakhstan and has been released from his post as chief of tax inspector of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

By the decree of President Nursultan Nazarbayev, Tulebek Abdikadirov has been released from his post as finance minister of the Republic of Kazakhstan in connection with his transfer to another post.

Supreme Court Refuses To Allow Registration of Ethnic Movement

MK1311151092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Nov 92 p 3

[NEGA report: "Kazakhstan"]

[Text] The Kazakh Supreme Court Collegium for Civil Cases has refused to reregister the "Unity" interethnic movement.

Among the arguments governing the collegium's decision, the main one was "Unity's" call for Russian to be given the status of a state language.

(As you know, the language law making Kazakh the state language was adopted back in July this year; however, this question is still being debated).

"Unity" leaders Yuriy Startsev and Yevgeniy Nekrasov themselves think that the court ruling is political rather than legal in character.

"The banning of our movement is graphic evidence that in Kazakhstan it is even forbidden to discuss problems if they do not fit in with the republic's legislation," Yu. Startsev said following the Supreme Court collegium session.

Foreign Ministry Delegation Holds Consultations in Moscow

LD1311210192 Alma-Ata KAZTAG in Russian 0322 GMT 13 Nov 92

[Text] By reciprocal agreement foreign policy consultations have been held in Moscow between representatives of the ministries of foreign affairs of Kazakhstan and Russia. Our republic's delegation was headed by First Deputy Minister S. Kumanguzhin, and that of Russia by Deputy Minister G. Kunadze.

A broad range of questions concerning coordination of the foreign policy actions of the two countries was discussed. Special attention was paid to problems of Asian security, disarmament, ecology, the activity of international organizations, and also the utilization of property abroad which had belonged to diplomatic missions of the former USSR.

Joint German Cooperation Council Sets Partnership

*LD1311212992 Alma-Ata KAZTAG in Russian 0000
GMT 13 Nov 92*

[Text] The recent visit by President Nursultan Nazarbayev to Germany and the agreement signed there have created a firm basis for expanding all-around ties between our states. Evidence of this is the results of the second session of the Kazakh-German Council for Economic Cooperation held in Alma-Ata.

The participants agreed on mutually advantageous partnership in the most varied spheres and primarily in the area of practical implementation of intergovernmental agreements, in particular in the matter of joint prospecting and extraction of zinc, copper, and lead. The proposals of the German side on increasing the amount of extraction of refining of liquid fuel in a number of regions of Kazakhstan were also approved. Plans were worked out for joint production of up to 10,000 buses annually in the republic and modernization of the tractor industry. Altogether it is intended to carry out over 40 joint priority investment projects.

The successful conduct of the talks was facilitated by the personal business contacts of the Council members. It has been decided to hold the next session next spring in Germany.

Kyrgyzstan

State Council Examines Progress of Privatization

*LD1411023392 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in
Russian 1411 GMT 13 Nov 92*

[Report by Aleksandr Mirtov on 13 November State Council session]

[Text] Probably the main question examined at today's session of the State Council was the progress in removing facilities from state control, privatization in the republic, and its unsuccessful results—one cannot speak about the stabilization of the economy or the successful transition to a market economy. That is really the case.

The privatization process is proceeding extremely slowly here in Kyrgyzstan. For both objective and subjective reasons, the first results of privatization have exposed the unsatisfactory state of affairs. Today more than 1,600 state facilities have been transferred to various forms of ownership in Kyrgyzstan. The majority of them have become joint-stock companies. As noted by many

of the speakers at today's session, this has its pros and cons. The latter include the fact that in a situation where factories are becoming joint-stock companies, their workers do not in fact become owners, as should be the case. In this case collective ownership is coming into being.

Experts from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development who recently visited Bishkek were concerned about this. It has therefore been decided to charge the government with providing the opportunity to print shares as soon as possible as one of the main means of payment in the privatization process.

It was also noted that the privatization of housing could undoubtedly be carried out in a more active manner. At present only 4 percent of the housing stock in Kyrgyzstan has been privatized. President Askar Akayev, commenting about this fact, noted that the stepping up of privatization of housing will create a housing market first and foremost. Second, it will mean additional financial means, and third, the republican budget will be freed of the expense of maintaining the communal housing stock.

Summing up the results of the discussion of this issue, President Askar Akayev noted that the privatization program needs to be amended. The first experience shows that this is necessary. A cooperation mechanism is needed between the state property involved in the issues of privatization, the country's government, and the heads of administrations and leaders of ministries and departments.

It has been decided that the next session of the republic's Supreme Soviet will introduce changes into the basic law to improve the legal basis of privatization. It has been decided to put privatization checks, our own republican vouchers, into circulation in the very near future. Moreover, unlike the Russian ones, they will bear people's names and the amount they are worth will depend on the number of years at work and the earnings of the person who receives such a voucher.

Opinions were expressed at the session that the Russian sample of the voucher was more preferable since social justice is observed. Geographical and national aspects should definitely be taken into account. Let us say a skilled worker in a factory in the town always received much more than residents of rural areas. It is precisely in the countryside that the families are largest here in Kyrgyzstan. This is why the problem of issuing vouchers should be discussed more thoroughly.

It has been decided to step up the activity of the bodies of law and order in the privatization process since the squandering and theft of state property is taking place.

Also examined at today's session of the State Council were the issues of the program of state investment and progress in preparing Kyrgyzstan's national economy for work during the winter.

State Council Apportions Funds From IMF Loan
OW1411154092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1358
GMT 14 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In case they sign a formal agreement next December, Kyrgyzstan will be entitled to receive a 300-million-dollar loan from the International Monetary Fund [IMF]. Kyrgyzstan's State Council decided Friday that half of the loan would be used to purchase grain, medical drugs and other critically important items, and 80 million dollars would be used to stabilize the Rouble.

President Askar Akayev told the State Council the International Monetary Fund would sign an agreement with Kyrgyzstan if the Kyrgyz government guaranteed the realization of a tight-fisted policy in the field of credit and finances and vowed to keep next year's budget deficit at 25 to 27 billion Roubles.

Kyrgyzstan's Ministry of the Economy and Finances feels that next year the asset part of the national budget will top 29.9 billion Roubles, while spending will amount to 56.6 billion.

The President told the State council that next year his republic might expect to receive another 100 to 200 million US dollars in additional loans from the donor nations. Kyrgyzstan would use the money to finance a few investment projects. It would come out with the projects before a conference of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank slated to be held next December in Paris.

The 15 to 20 projects were either export-oriented or aimed for the production of goods that could replace imported items.

Akayev Says 50 Percent Drop in Production Possible in 1993

OW1511144892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1333
GMT 15 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The ultimate goal of reforms and measures designed to ensure economic stability in Kyrgyzstan is to integrate the republic into the world economy, said President Askar Akayev. Addressing a conference of the heads of local administrations, the President said he is confident that Kyrgyzstan will find its own niche in the world economy, since "in the past year the entire civilized world got convinced that cooperation with Kyrgyzstan is possible".

Kyrgyzstan's President believes that the main problem today is to secure harmony between administrative management and economic regulation. According to him, in the period of transition, when state property is the basis

of the economy, it's necessary to maintain state regulation, and transition to a free-market infrastructure should be carried out under strict government control.

Next year, he conceded, might see a 50% decline in production, and one in 5 members of the workforce might become unemployed.

Akayev, Moldova's Snegur Sign Treaty on Interstate Relations

OW1311021092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1734
GMT 12 Nov 92

[From "Presidential Bulletin" prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A treaty on the directives for inter-state relations between Kyrgyzstan and Moldova was signed in Bishkek on Wednesday. President Akayev pointed out after the meeting with President Mircea Snegur that the fact that the traditional terms "friendship and co-operation" had been left out of the title of the document should not be dramatised. In his opinion the signing of the treaty would enhance relations between the two nations. Both sides would go on, in his opinion, to sign a friendship and mutual assistance treaty with emphasis on bi-lateral mutual relations in the future.

Snegur also expressed his republic's special interest in co-operation with Kyrgyzstan. He pointed out that the views of both nations on economic reform and collective security coincided. Regarding the political situation in Moldova Snegur stressed that the main thing was to secure an end to the armed conflict. He said that importance now lay in the definition by international organisations of the border line between the right of nations to self-determination and separatism.

Tajikistan

Iskandarov Says Republic's Fate Depends on National Assembly

OW1611124392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1149
GMT 16 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [16 November] an open session of Tajikistan's Supreme Soviet is to begin its work in Khudzhen. 191 deputies have already arrived for the session. In September the parliament's session was disrupted due to the absence of a quorum—less than 154 deputies gathered at that time.

The draft agenda includes issues concerning the stabilization of the social-political situation, resignation of the republic's president Rakhman Nabiyeu, the status of the prime minister, and the premature cessation of people's deputies authorities representing separate election districts.

Akbarsho Iskandarov, the acting President of Tajikistan, declared to INTERFAX that "the fate of the republic largely depends on the resolutions of the session," as the deputies are expected to choose the most optimal form of state ruling.

Iskandarov believes that under the present situation the State Council may become the most acceptable power body; it may consist of the representatives of all the republic's regions, the most influential parties and movements, and people enjoying authority among the native population.

In early November, Iskandarov adopted a decree on the formation of the State Council; however, he himself dissolved it in several days "because this idea has not found appropriate support." According to the acting president, at present the deputies are "to choose such a way which will satisfy not only the parliament but will find support among the people." If the deputies fail "to give up" private ambitions, then the hope for a reconciliation and stabilization in the republic will not be justified," Iskandarov pointed out.

Kurbonali Mirzoaliyev, the former chairman of the Kulyab province's provincial committee, declared to INTERFAX that 25 Kulyab deputies would advocate "restoration of the constitutional forms of ruling which had been violated," for a parliamentary or presidential republic. At the same time, if the parliament votes for the creation of the State Council, then Kulyab will not insist on the restoration of the former structures of power; in particular, on the return of Rakhman Nabiyeu, the resigned president.

National Assembly Opens; Session Elects Commission

LD1611090892 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0820 GMT 16 Nov 92

[By KHOVAR news agency - TASS]

[Text] Khudzhen November 16 TASS—Tajik lawmakers elected a conference commission and announced a break in their session which is to work out ways of securing peace in the Central Asian Republic.

The crucial session opened on Monday one hour late than scheduled in the Urunkhojayev state farm of Khudzhen District and was chaired by Deputy Speaker Akhmadzhon Sayidov.

193 parliamentarians are attending, as well as representatives of all political parties and public movements of the republic. 154 lawmakers are necessary for the quorum.

The session is also to elect a new parliamentary leadership and government which resigned last week.

Nabiyeu Awaits Invitation

OW1611123592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1149 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Rakhman Nabiyeu, the resigned Tajik President, has not received an invitation to participate in the parliament's session, though the Supreme Soviet is to consider the issue of his resignation's legality.

In his interview with INTERFAX, Nabiyeu expressed the hope that he would be informed about the results of the conciliatory commission's (which was examining his case) work.

Nabiyeu believes that his resignation was illegal because he had made his statement about the resignation "under the threat of the opposition's combatants." He places responsibility for the resolution of the issue "on the conscience of the deputies." According to Nabiyeu, he "does not insist" on his return to power, nevertheless he was surprised when the republic's leadership "failed to invite him".

"Such a session discredits the republic and its people," Nabiyeu declared. However he added that under the present situation only the parliament was able to work out a mechanism to stop the bloodshed in Tajikistan.

Supreme Soviet Official Praises Cease-Fire in Pyandzh

LD1411202192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1736 GMT 14 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe November 14 TASS—There have been no fire exchanges for two days in the Tajik Pyandzh region. As result of the two-day negotiations between representatives of the warring sides, they signed an agreement on cease-fire and search for ways of peaceful conflict settlement last night.

In the words of Deputy Republican Supreme Soviet Chairman and mediator in the negotiations Akhmadzhon Sayidov, "the first kind step towards peace and national reconciliation has been made". He expressed the hope the Pyandzh memorandum will be an example for leaders of armed units in other hotbeds of the republic.

Unfortunately, the general situation in Tajikistan is far from being stable. ITAR-TASS learned from military sources today, armed clashes between supporters and opponents of the current regime have not stopped since Friday in some republican regions.

Fighting between specific armed groups with the use of APCs [armored personnel carriers] is under way right near the Tajik capital. The number of victims is

unknown, however, according to the report of a republican Interior Ministry staffer, 18 people with fire wounds were brought to Dushanbe last night. Specific fire exchanges have continued since this morning.

The situation remains tense in the Kurgan-Tyube region, however ITAR-TASS did not receive exact information on the regional developments due to the absence of communication with the area.

Correspondents, accompanying last night members of the peace-making delegation headed by Deputy Supreme Soviet Chairman Akhmadzhon Sayidov, who returned by a helicopter from Pyandzh, saw burning settlements in the Bokhtar district of the Kurgan-Tyube region and several residential areas on the territory of the Leninskiy district adjoining Dushanbe. They heard automatic rifle fire bursts.

The aggravation of the social-political situation and the expansion of the armed conflict zone on the eve of the opening of the Supreme Soviet session scheduled for November 16 in the Khudzhent town of the Leninabad region are estimated by local observers as a provocative attempt of certain republican political forces to break the holding the extraordinary parliament meeting.

Russian Officers Ask Yeltsin To Examine Expediency of Service

LD1411155292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1458 GMT 14 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe November 14 TASS—The Russian border troops' officers corps in Tajikistan has send an appeal to Russian President Boris Yeltsin and the Russian Government asking to consider the "expediency of further stay of their units" on territory of the Central Asian republic and substantiating their demand "with the absence of guarantees of legal and social protection of both officers and soldiers serving in a hotbed of the former Soviet Union".

The statement adopted on Friday at a meeting of the officers' corps representatives, says of a real threat of the Russian border troops' involvement in the internal political and armed conflict in Tajikistan, and systematic attempts of both moral and physical pressure on border guards from the side of various opposing groups to involve the troops in combat operations currently underway in the areas bordering Afghanistan.

The document says about repeated threats and humiliation of Russian border guards and attempts to seize arms and materiel. The protection of the border is being complicated in connection with the fact "with the connivance of the Tajik leadership and open assistance of the local authorities, the Afghan Government and field commanders openly interfere in internal affairs of Tajikistan," and Afghan citizens fight on the side of Tajik armed groups.

If border guards try to prevent their trespassing of the border and smuggling, border details come under fire from both sides. The number of victims among officers and soldiers from the Russian border troops is mounting.

At the same time, "when fulfilling their duty in the super- extreme conditions, border guards themselves have no social and legal guarantees, live in difficult material conditions and see no prospect for the future, which tells on their moral and combat spirit".

In this connection, officers said if their demands are not fulfilled they preserve the right "to stop fulfilling the service duties on protection of the Tajik-Afghan border".

Rail Link Between Kurgan-Tyube, Uzbekistan Operational

LD1311202992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Nov 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Traffic has resumed on the railway between Kurgan-Tyube and the Uzbek town of Termez. This will allow delivery of 20,000 tonnes of food from the CIS countries which was stranded in Uzbek stations to Tajik territory within the next 24 hours.

President Reinstates Leader of Dushanbe Soviet

LD1611110192 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Russian 1000 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] By decree of Akbarsho Iskandarov, acting president of the Republic of Tajikistan, Maksud Ikramov is to be reinstated to his former post of chairman of the executive committee of the Dushanbe soviet of peoples' deputies. Today, Maksud Ikramov is participating in the work of the 16th session of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan as a peoples' deputy of the Republic of Tajikistan.

People's Democratic Army Presents Demands

LD1411182492 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 14 Nov 92

[Text of statement issued by the People's Democratic Army of Tajikistan; place, date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] The young sovereign state of Tajikistan [word indistinct] is facing danger. The existance of the country and the [?suffering] people are in [word indistinct] danger. The reactionary forces, corrupted by the party elite, were able to drag our suffering people into a senseless civil war, which has been going on for nearly half a year. During this period, the economic and production potential of the republic was destroyed. The flourishing land of Vakhshanzamin has been plundered and destroyed. Thousands of its inhabitants have fled.

They are homeless and [word indistinct]. The troika Nabiyeu, Kendzhayev, and [word indistinct] have [word indistinct] among the democratic forces and [word indistinct]. They have transformed our flourishing republic into rubble. Today we are on the verge of destruction. The destruction of the democratic forces, [word indistinct] and members of their families is continuing. Under the artificial slogan of Fight Against Islam people have been killed and villages are being burned. History [words indistinct]. These events are being implemented by third [word indistinct]. They are being carried out under the banner of socialism. The dark forces were not satisfied with Tajikistan. Today or tomorrow, the flames of this war will enter the territories of the neighboring republics and will even drag Russia into it. The democratic forces of Tajikistan seriously declare that they will adhere to the UN Declaration on the Protection of Human Rights and other UN documents. [passage indistinct] The government [words indistinct] which has destroyed the borders of our republic and [words indistinct]. Today, to prevent Dushanbe city, the capital of Tajikistan, from being turned into rubble, like Kurgan-Tyube, and its people from becoming wanderers and homeless, we the (?inhabitants) of the city of Dushanbe and the surrounding rayons find ourselves obligated to declare the setting up of the Peoples Democratic Army of Tajikistan. We demand that:

1. The economic blockade of the city of Dushanbe be lifted immediately and the railways be opened because of the onset of winter and for the supply of fuel and other necessary goods. Otherwise, the economy of Tajikistan will be fully paralyzed, and the population will find itself on the threshold of poverty;

2. Those on whom this depends not allow an attack on the capital of Tajikistan, the city of Dushanbe, and the surrounding rayons by any side;

3. The deputies of the Supreme Soviet and all those to whom the peace and stability of Tajikistan and the ideal of democracy and protection of human rights and freedom are valuable not allow Tajikistan to be diverted from the path of democratic reforms and the reinstatement of Nabiyeu, Kendzhayev, and [word indistinct], who started the war to destroy more than 30 percent of their people, and not allow political terror in relation to [word indistinct] members and their families;

4. A general cease-fire be declared and talks be held for the stage-by-stage disarming of both sides throughout Tajikistan, with the assistance of the 201 Motorized Division of Russia and in the presence of representatives of both sides and observers from the United Nations, CIS, and the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Tajikistan; all types of weapons be (?immediately) confiscated and submitted to the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Tajikistan [word indistinct] for use by the formations of the Armed forces of sovereign Tajikistan;

5. The Kulyab formations from Kurgan-Tyube oblast return to Kulyab oblast; the constitutional organs of

power in Kurgan-Tyube oblast, Nurek city, Tursunzoda rayon, and other populated areas be re-established; and hundreds of thousands of refugees from Kulyab and Kurgan-Tyube oblasts, Tursunzoda, Gisaarskiy, Leninskiy rayons, and Nurek city be allowed to return to their homes and a provision be made for their security, irrespective of their ethnic, national, or political stances;

6. The session of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan confirm that Dushanbe is the capital of Tajikistan and adopt a new state emblem, removing the previous communist characteristics from it;

7. All current powers be transferred to the State Council, composed of well-known state and sociopolitical activists from all regions in Tajikistan, until the adoption of the new constitution;

8. The new constitution be speedily approved by nationwide referendum;

9. All criminals responsible for crimes against the state be brought before the court;

10. All those to whom the democratic process is important join the ranks of the People's Democratic Army;

11. We also appeal to all workers of parties and organizations to, under such difficult times, use their experience and [word indistinct] for the fight against crime and not to remain indifferent to the fate of the country and the people;

12. We appeal to the entire intelligentsia and national community. At this moment, the fate of the state of Tajikistan and all its people is being determined. All steps will be taken to stabilize the situation and restore calm.

13. When all our demands are implemented, the People's Democratic Army of Tajikistan will be disbanded; otherwise, our Army will not [word indistinct] for the fight for democracy and independence.

[Signed] Members of the Military Council of the People's Democratic Army of Tajikistan

Russian Army Aide Describes Peacemaking Role

PM1211123192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Nov 92 p 3

["Special" report by Anatoliy Ivlev, aide to divisional commander for personnel work: "Tajikistan: Russian Motorized Rifle Division Remains the Nucleus of the Peacemaking Forces"]

[Text] Major General Mukhriddin Ashurov, commander of the 201st Motorized Rifle Division, has met in Gissar with representatives of three neighboring rayons. The sides participating in the talks with the deputy chairman of the republic's State Council put forward a 15-point list of demands. They are addressed to the leadership of the

republic, the Supreme Soviet, the Cabinet of Ministers, and the leaders of political parties and movements. It was stated that the blockade of the capital in this area will not end until the demands are met.

Essentially, the demands amount to this: The State Council was created unlawfully without regard for the opinion of the republic's population and must therefore be disbanded. It is also proposed that all leading organs formed since last May be disbanded, the republic's National Security Committee and Ministry of Internal Affairs be reorganized, and the office of commandant of Dushanbe (a post filled by the militia battalion commander) be abolished as the 201st division is performing the service of commandant. There is also a demand that all unlawful armed groupings in Dushanbe be disarmed and their weapons transferred to the 201st division. This demand relates to subdivisions attached to the republic's Defense Ministry. Before the beginning of the 16th extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet it is proposed that all parties and movements cease their activity and that representatives of all regions in the republic be given TV airtime.

Nothing is known about the results of the talks at present but it is already obvious that the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Division's peacemaking mission is beginning to yield results. At least a possibility has emerged that the opposing sides will hold a more meaningful dialogue.

It has been announced that a date has been set for holding an Assembly of People's Representatives and an extraordinary session of the republic's Supreme Soviet. By decrees of the presidium of parliament, both forums will be held in Khudzhand (Leninabad) 16 November. Of course, attempts to wreck these meetings, which are important for ending the bloodshed, cannot be ruled out. The units of the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Division remain the only guarantee of tranquillity in the republic.

The formation's forces will continue to be used to protect major installations, set up checkpoints, perform patrol duties, support the movement of humanitarian aid traffic, prevent the illegal shipment of weapons and munitions, and prevent disorder, but only by agreement with the Russian leadership. Weapons may be used only in exceptional circumstances: in response to outright attack, to protect the honor and dignity of servicemen, thwart attempts to capture installations, and protect the civilian population. The division is getting a helicopter squadron. Eduard Vorobyev, the Russian Federation's authorized representative for the Russian troop deployment in Tajikistan, has stressed that in no case is the division taking part in the political struggle and it will not become involved in combat actions on behalf of any of the warring sides.

Postscript: When this issue was going to press our correspondent, Anatoliy Ladin, reported that Major General Mukhriddin Ashurov, commander of the 201st Motorized Rifle Division, returned from Gissar and told journalists at the divisional headquarters that he is

withdrawing from the republic's State Council. He said that he had made this decision because his appointment as deputy chairman of the State Council breaches the division's neutrality and provides grounds for accusations of interference in the sovereign state's internal affairs.

Kulyab Paramilitary Leader Explains Opposition to Government

MK1611104992 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Nov 92 p 3

[Report on news conference by Sangak Safarov with unidentified reporters; place, date place not given: "Tajikistan: We Will Think About Liberating Dushanbe Later. Kulyab Leader Holds News Conference"]

[Excerpts] Sangak Safarov is the leader of the Kulyab paramilitary formations fighting the Tajik coalition government. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] How do you view the idea of setting up a State Council in Tajikistan?

[Safarov] I categorically oppose this decision. We are fighting for a constitutional system and the restoration of the government that the republic had until 7 May.

[Reporter] The summit in Alma-Ata between the presidents of Central Asia and Kazakhstan envisaged the creation of peacekeeping forces based on the 201st Russian motorized rifle division.

[Safarov] We need peacekeeping forces. But based on the Russian Army and not, as was first suggested, the introduction of a Kyrgyz armed contingent—only Russia can help us.

[Reporter] Should the number of Russian troops in Tajikistan be increased?

[Safarov] That is essential. We did have a people's army (NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA note—he means the USSR Armed Forces). Who broke them up? Why should the Russian Army remain neutral?

[Reporter] You said recently that you would shortly be parading on Dushanbe's main square...

[Safarov] Our main task now is to open up the "lifeline road"—and get to Termez. In order to survive and obtain humanitarian aid, we must now get to the Uzbek border, then we will think about liberating Dushanbe.

[Reporter] What kind of relations do you have with Uzbek President Islam Karimov?

[Safarov] Karimov is carrying out humane acts against Islamic fundamentalists, and we feel solidarity with him in this.

[Reporter] Have you met with Karimov?

[Safarov] I personally have not met with him, but I have met with Uzbek Government representatives.

[Reporter] How do you view Kulyab formations' recent attempts to capture Dushanbe?

[Safarov] That was not our initiative. We were not ready for that at the time. That was out-and-out provocation organized by the agent of the qazis (NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA note—the Spiritual Directorate of Muslims of Tajikistan) Rizoyev, Kulyab Oblast Soviet Executive Committee chairman. I was forced to do away with him to prevent further bloodshed among innocent people.

[Reporter] You killed him?

[Safarov] Yes. You have to eliminate your enemies.

[Reporter] One often hears that there is looting by both Kulyab people and "Greens."

[Safarov] You know, my dear fellow, there are thieves who pillage and rape everywhere. Before we joined the offensive on Kurgan-Tyube the Muslims freed prisoners from the local jail. Prisoners who wanted money went to work with them, while sincere, honest people who had ended up behind bars joined our troops. We shoot looters on the spot. There is no looting in Kurgan-Tyube now.

[Reporter] Are there currently people on the coalition government with whom you agree and enter into dialogue?

[Safarov] No, there are not. The Kulyab people in Dushanbe have sold out to the Islamists.

[Reporter] You are known as a staunch supporter of the restoration of the Union.

[Safarov] The Union must be restored whatever it takes. Look at the trouble the destruction of the USSR has caused us. Look how many seats of conflict have emerged: Nagorno-Karabakh, North Ossetia, the Dnieper Region (NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA: He means the Dniester Region), and now Tajikistan.

Turkmenistan

Spring Armed Forces Draft Complete; 15% Doing Alternative Service

PM1311132792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Nov 92 p 3

[RIA report: "Spring Draft into Army Completed in Turkmenistan. Alternative and Contractual Service Introduced"]

[Text] Ashgabat—The spring draft for military service has been completed in Turkmenistan. The draft can be described as special: For the first time some draftees—around 15 percent—have been sent to do alternative labor service, which has been introduced by edict of the

president of Turkmenistan. The duration of the alternative service is two years. During this period 40 percent of the salary of the young people drafted for service will be paid into the Turkmenistan Defense Ministry's account.

Service on a contractual basis has also been introduced in the republic's armed forces. The right to conclude a three-year military service contract with unit commanders has been received by sergeants who graduate from educational subunits.

Vice President, Iranian Minister Discuss Rail Links, Trade

LD1411131392 Tehran IRNA in English 0739 GMT 14 Nov 92

[Text] Ashgabat, Nov. 14, IRNA—Vice President of Turkmenistan Azov told Iran's visiting Minister of Roads and Transportation Mohammad Sai'idi-Kia here Thursday that Ashgabat is becoming a major trade exchange center for the Central Asian republics. He also appreciated the efforts of the Iranian officials for setting up the second exhibition of Iran-made products here.

The Iranian minister offered the Turkmen official a report on the progress of an on-going railway project for linking the Iranian city of Mashad, capital of Iran's northeastern Khorasan Province, to the city of Sarakhs, a border town lying this side of the border with Turkmenistan.

The two officials also reviewed issues in connection with the establishment of a joint road transport company to operate between Iran's Khorasan Province and Turkmenistan. It was agreed that expert delegates from Turkmenistan subsequently visit Tehran for pre-feasibility studies.

Meanwhile Deputy Governor of Khorasan Province for Political Affairs Mohammadzadeh who was also present at the meeting said that since August 23 as much as 500 million roubles worth of various commodities produced or manufactured in Khorasan Province had been exported to Turkmenistan. The commodities mainly included textiles, industrial products, and agricultural produce.

During the same period the Iranian province had imported as much as 18,500 tons of products from Turkmenistan which mainly included cement, industrial quality wood, tractors, and motor-bikes.

Official Reports Increase in Trade With Iran

LD1311120192 Tehran IRNA in English 1547 GMT 12 Nov 92

[Text] Ashgabat, Nov. 12, IRNA—The volume of trade exchanges between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Turkmenistan increased two and a half folds in the first six-month of the current calendar year (March 21, Sept. 22, 1992) compared with the same period last year.

Concurrent with the activity of Iran's exclusive trade fair in Ashgabat, the Turkmen head of Chamber of Commerce told a news conference here today that Iran enjoys great potentials in production and processing industries as well as a high technology in this regard.

He said, "We are interested in founding such industries in Turkmenistan by Iranian technicians."

The Iranian official in Ashgabat responsible for the fair called forging relationship between Iranian and Turkmen businessmen as "the objective of the fair" and said, "We will welcome signing agreements with Turkmen traders."

Uzbekistan

Government Censors Ban 13 Nov Evening Edition of IZVESTIYA

LD1311193292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1823 GMT 13 Nov 92

Moscow November 13 TASS—Uzbekistan censors banned Friday's evening issue of the newspaper IZVESTIYA from this Central Asian country, the Ostankino Television Company reported.

It said the paper had been banned because of an article in the Friday issue about censorship in Uzbekistan.

Four issues back IZVESTIYA ran a report in its Moscow issue about the introduction of censorship in Uzbekistan. In Uzbekistan the newspaper appeared without the article.

In its previous evening issue No 247, IZVESTIYA called on Uzbeki President Islam Karimov to stop censoring the newspaper and put an end to threats to expel IZVESTIYA correspondent Mr. Zaynutdinov, an Uzbeki citizen, who wrote the first report, from the country in 24 hours as a journalist representing foreign press. Issue 247, too, never reached Uzbekistan.

"We will not allow to pour dirt on the sovereignty of our country," a spokesman for the Uzbeki president told IZVESTIYA.

"Laws in any democratic country, and Uzbekistan says it is a democratic country, envisage penalties for infringing on the freedom of information," IZVESTIYA wrote on Friday. "They outlaw censorship, interference in the work of and violation of professional independence of editors, and all bans on the availability of the mass media," it said.

Foreign correspondents accredited in Tashkent—from REUTERS, LIBERATION, BBC, AP and FRANCE PRESSE—have called for a press conference in connection with the unprecedented "closure" of IZVESTIYA in Uzbekistan.

Armenia

**Prime Minister on Gyumri Disturbances,
Ensuring Supplies**

*NC1311141592 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International
Service in Armenian 1657 GMT 11 Nov 92*

[Report by Amasya Ovannisyan]

[Text] [Ovannisyan] Esteemed listeners, compared with the other CIS countries, economic difficulties are felt more acutely in Armenia, where the enforced war, railway blockade, and energy shortages have added to already disrupted economic ties, financial chaos, and daily soaring inflation.

All these are harming living standards badly. Armenia currently has the lowest standard of living of all the CIS countries.

Social tension has arisen because of the prevailing economic crisis in the republic and the difficulties involved in supplying the population with basic foodstuffs, particularly bread. While the government is trying to overcome the crisis, this social tension is fraught with an explosion of social activity. Regrettably, (?signs) of such an explosion exist. First we are talking about the so-called mass rallies in Gyumri, where a few thousand people gathered before the city soviet building and demanded that their social and daily needs be met. Unfortunately the mass rallies of Gyumri residents spilled over into emotionalism and disorder. The population expressed its dissatisfaction by surrounding the city Soviet building before moving to the Theater Square to hold a rally. Basically, they were demanding bread and unimpeded gas and energy supplies.

Armenian Prime Minister Khosrov Arutyunyan gave the following assessment of the incidents in Gyumri:

[Begin Arutyunyan recording] We discussed the situation at a government commission meeting last night. For the past three days there has been a disruption in the supply of bread [words indistinct]. We ordered 52 tons of flour for the city, but only 30 tons arrived. We were told there was a shortfall because trucks from Gyumri did not arrive to transport the flour. [passage indistinct] Before the pipeline accident in the north Caucasus, Gyumri received gas for 10- 15 days a month. [words indistinct] We are now receiving only a little gas, 5 to 5.5 million cubic meters daily, which is hardly enough to produce the energy the population needs, to ensure power stations operate, and to keep bakeries and basic industrial enterprises running.

The situation has stabilized somewhat. [words indistinct] I believe that if the local authorities had paid closer attention to these problems and ensured some social justice in the city, the 15-day cut in the gas supply would not have been enough to push the people to this point. [words indistinct] The gas supply to Gyumri will be restored immediately. [end recording]

[Ovannisyan] Although painful, there are apparently forces in Gyumri—and elsewhere—that are guided by the principle: The worse it is, the better for us. They are trying to exploit the people's social and economic grievance for their own political objectives.

Soon after this conversation with the prime minister, a government meeting was held at night. The directors and responsible workers from all the bread-producing and related enterprises, state administrations, and the transport sector were taking part in the meeting.

The prime minister announced that a system of coupons for buying bread is to be introduced throughout the republic on 15 November. He stressed the importance of this task and the responsibilities falling on officials in the uninterrupted supply of bread to the population. He demanded that those at the meeting approach this important problem with the utmost seriousness. The prime minister said that those who fail in their duties will be penalized.

Russian Parliamentarians Begin Cooperation Talks

*NC1411195592 Yerevan SNARK in English 1030 GMT
14 Nov 92*

[Text] Yerevan, November 14 (SNARK)—Russian and Armenian delegates have set to work in Yerevan today morning. A large group of Russian parliament delegates has arrived in Armenia to discuss a wide range of questions connected with perspectives of both countries' cooperation. The meeting participants are going to consider the problems of Russian and Armenian legislations rapprochement, the military men status of the CIS countries, the refugees and forced migrants problem. The Armenian side suggested discussion of collective security problem, the status of northern Caucasus and Rostov region Armenian residents and Russian Federation policy on the Caucasus and boundary rayons. The Russian delegation headed by Vladimir Podoprighora, the chief of Inter-Republican Affairs, Regional Policy and Cooperation Committee is meeting today with the head of the Armenian parliament and the representatives of "Oda" Russian society.

Meet With President

*LD1411231792 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 2200 GMT 14 Nov 92*

[Text] President Levon Ter-Petrosyan of Armenia received on Saturday Russian parliamentarians who are in Yerevan to attend a roundtable discussion on the subject Russia, Armenia and cooperation prospects. Speaking about the development of bilateral ties, the president stressed that there were strong contacts at the level of executive powers of Russia and Armenia. However, the level of parliamentary ties leaves much to be desired.

Fuel Shortage Strands Delegation*LD1511203792 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1945
GMT 15 Nov 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan November 15 TASS—Visiting Russian parliamentarians felt the hardships of Armenia on themselves. Despite the fact that their programme ended on Saturday, the delegation cannot fly home because of a lack of fuel at the Yerevan airport.

The Russian MPs spent Sunday meeting their Armenian colleagues and going on a sightseeing tour of Yerevan, which they could not do before due to intensive talks.

"Our visit will promote stronger contacts between the parliaments of Russia and Armenia and will help develop interstate relations," said head of the delegation Vladimir Podoprigora, who is also head of the Russian parliament's Committee for Interrepublican Relations, Regional Policy and Cooperation. "In an open discussion we raised issues relating to Russian-Armenian relations, discussed the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh and prospects for parliamentary links".

According to Secretary of the Supreme Soviet of Armenia Varazdat Avoyan, the first visit by such a representative Russian delegation laid the groundwork for further interparliamentary cooperation.

The MPs of the two countries exchanged views on the problems of refugees and the question of legal status of Russian troops on the territory of Armenia.

Government Expresses Readiness To Resume Rail Traffic with Azerbaijan*LD1511165892 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1644
GMT 15 Nov 92*

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan November 15 TASS—Armenia is prepared to resume rail traffic with Azerbaijan between Akstafa and Idzhevan from today, the Armenian government announced on Sunday. At the same time Yerevan expressed its readiness to ensure reception and dispatch of all trains to Nakhichevan.

The Armenian government expressed the hope that this unilateral step will help restore rail traffic in full and stabilise the economic situation in Transcaucasia.

ITAR-TASS was told on Sunday evening at the press office of the Armenian Government that Azerbaijan has not reacted to this proposal so far.

Economic Ties Becoming Focus of Relations With Iran*NC1311220392 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International
Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 13 Nov 92*

[Text] A delegation from Iran's Azerbaijan Province will arrive in Armenia in the next few days to organize bilateral border trade.

Commenting on this, Armenian Deputy Economy Minister Shishmanyanyan noted the role conferred on the Ministry of Economy in Armenian-Iranian relations, saying: Because of the difficulties created by the political factor in establishing bilateral relations, for the time being attention will be focused on border trade. Those in Iran's East Azerbaijan must realize that the relations being established between these two states can only be beneficial to both peoples.

Budget Committee Objects to Strategy Against Economic Crimes*OW1311212392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1708
GMT 13 Nov 92*

[From "Presidential Bulletin" prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The parliamentary Committee on the Budget and Finances said a decree by President Levon Ter-Petrosyan to further the war on the theft of government, social, and private property, and other economic crimes, is seriously flawed. Committee Chairman Tigran Sarkisyan told "INTERFAX" that giving the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Public Prosecutor's Office the right to control bank operations could turn the banking system upside down, affecting servicing in the private sector and creating inroads for abuse of power by investigatory organs. Sarkisyan said these two structures should refuse these functions. "This type of control is not envisaged in the republic's laws, thus fighting fire with fire will only lead to an increase in organized crime", Sarkisyan said.

Adviser Says Solution to Problems Lies in Agreement With Russia*NC1311181092 Yerevan SNARK in English 1445 GMT
13 Nov 92*

[Text] Stepanakert, November 13 (SNARK)—Maksim Mirzoyan, counsellor of the chairman of the Karabakh Parliament, is of the opinion that proclaiming independence Armenia has become the most dependent republic of the former USSR. According to Mirzoyan, the main reason of difficulties Armenia is meeting isn't the Karabakh problem, as it is declared by the Armenian leadership, but the short-sightedness Armenia's leadership has in economics, internal and foreign affairs. The way out is the agreement between Russia and Armenia.

Deputy Returns After Meeting Parliamentarians in Azerbaijan

NC1311175792 Yerevan SNARK in English 1445 GMT 13 Nov 92

[Text] Yerevan, November 13—Ashot Bleyan, deputy of the Armenian Parliament, has come back from Baku. SNARK news agency possesses the information on the meetings Ashot Bleyan had in Baku: With the members of the Azerbaijani Parliament, the Defence Department representatives and the Azerbaijani leaders. Ashot Bleyan is one of those Armenian parliamentarians who appealed to the leaders of two republics to begin the negotiations without any preliminary terms. The appeal is expected to be discussed at the coming session of the Armenian Parliament.

Parliament To Consider Draft Law on Diplomatic Missions

OW1311213692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1442 GMT 13 Nov 92

[From "Diplomatic Panorama" prepared by correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, and Igor Porshnev—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to DP's [Diplomatic Panorama] sources in Yerevan, the Armenian parliament's commission for foreign relations will submit to the parliament's presidium a draft law on the status of Armenia's diplomatic missions in foreign countries.

According to the draft law, candidatures to the posts of these missions' leaders will be presented to the president by the foreign minister, following their approval by the parliamentary commission for foreign relations. The head of an Armenian foreign mission is expected to be an Armenian citizen, while the rest of the staffers may be citizens of foreign states.

Azerbaijan

Ethnic Affairs Adviser Welcomes Ouster of Russian Counterpart

OW1311212492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1708 GMT 13 Nov 92

[From "Presidential Bulletin" prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Political analysts in Baku said Galina Starovoitova's resignation as adviser to the Russian president on ethnic problems should bring an improvement in Russian-Azerbaijani relations.

The adviser to the Azerbaijani president on ethnic problems Idayat Orudzhev said that Starovoitova's resignation was "ideological separatism" and was predetermined as separatist tendencies developed in several republics and districts within Russia. Orudzhev said that prior to and following Starovoitova's appointment as presidential adviser she was openly anti-Azerbaijan on a number of issues concerning Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenian-Azerbaijani relations in general. Elchibey's adviser said that Starovoitova "and comrades" were instrumental in furthering the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: Circles close to Russian President Boris Yeltsin told "INTERFAX" that Starovoitova's resignation was caused by "extremely subjective views". "INTERFAX" learned that the immediate cause for the presidential adviser's removal was recent statements made in connection with a state of emergency in North Ossetia and Ingushetiya. Starovoitova was interviewed by "INTERFAX" November 4th, just hours before Yeltsin issued a decree on her removal from office during which the presidential adviser called on the Russian leadership to remain neutral in the Ossetian-Ingush conflict.

Kamberov Meets Iranian Envoy, Agrees To Visit Tehran

NC1511180392 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 13 Nov 92

[Text] Isa Kamberov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, received Iranian Ambassador 'Ali M. Nehavandian today. They examined matters related to the upcoming visit of an Iranian business delegation to Azerbaijan. The visit is aimed at further broadening relations between the two countries in the economic, trade, and [word indistinct] fields. The Azerbaijani side informed the Iranian ambassador that all the necessary measures will be taken to ensure that the visit will be useful for both countries. Preparations for the visit are about to be concluded.

Nehavandian conveyed an invitation to Isa Kamberov from the Iranian parliament. Kamberov thanked him and said that he can visit Iran during the first half of December.

Supreme Soviet Chairman Receives UN Officials.

LD1311114792 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2033 GMT 12 Nov 92

[By AZERINFORM-TASS correspondent Sabir Mirzoyev]

[Text] Baku November 12 TASS—Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan, Isa Kamberov, received Mahmud al-Sa'id, representative of the U.N. office in Baku, and Paolo Lembo, representative of the U.N. Development Programme, in the Azeri capital on Thursday.

"Azerbaijan which is going through a difficult period aggravated by the external aggression, is hoping for the support and solidarity of the world community," Isa Kamberov noted. The chairman of the Azeri Supreme Soviet also expressed hope that the activity of the U.N. representation in Baku will play a positive role in the defense of interests of Azerbaijan and the restoration of peace in the region.

Mahmud al-Sa'id stressed he would exert all his powers for the peaceful settlement of the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Russian Parliamentary Delegation Meets With Supreme Soviet Leaders

NC1611102992 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 14 Nov 92

[Text] As reported earlier, a group of Russian parliamentarians have arrived in Baku to hold talks with their counterparts in Azerbaijan.

The Russian delegation, which is headed by [name indistinct], deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, visited the martyrs' cemetery today and paid tribute to the sons of our homeland, who sacrificed their lives for Azerbaijan's independence and territorial integrity. Later, Isa Kamberov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, received the guests. The two sides noted the need to improve the independent and businesslike relations between the two countries' parliaments. They also examined the question of establishing a system for the exchange of information between the two parliaments without delay. The two sides agreed on the need to draw up a special agreement on broadening exchanges of views between the two parliaments.

The meeting was attended by Tamerlan Karayev, Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet deputy chairman; Abbas Abbasov, first deputy prime minister of Azerbaijan; and several members of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet. Officials from the Dagestan Autonomous Republic [DAR], headed by [word indistinct] Makhmudova, deputy chairman of the DAR Supreme Soviet, also attended the meeting.

Deputies Reject Russian Proposal To Introduce Federation

NC1311181392 Baku TURAN in English 1401 GMT 13 Nov 92

[Text] Baku, 13 Nov (TURAN)—Today in Baku, in a course of the 'round-table-talks' of the parliamentarians of Russia and Azerbaijan, Azeri deputies rejected the proposal of their Russian colleagues to introduce a federative or confederative system in Azerbaijan.

Chief of the Department for International Affairs under the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan Namik Akhundov announced Azerbaijan guaranteed cultural autonomy to the national minorities and there was no need in national-territorial division.

Regarding the question about the Armenian minority in Azerbaijan, Akhundov stressed that question should be regarded on a parity principle with Armenia, from which 200,000 Azeris had been driven out.

Elchibey Congratulates Tatar President on New Constitution

OW1311212992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1707 GMT 13 Nov 92

[From "Presidential Bulletin" prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Abulfaz Elchibey has congratulated the President of the Republic of Tatarstan Mintimer Shaymyev upon his parliament's approval of a new constitution for the republic. "Independence and freedom are the most important stages in the history of the heroic Tatar people, one of the most powerful branches of the ancient Turkic ethnic group," the letter from the Azerbaijani leader states. He expressed confidence that "historic justice would triumph" and that the Tatar people would reach their goals. Elchibey hopes for the "steady growth of relations between the two brotherly peoples." The Azerbaijani leader is convinced that the Tatars shall show "an inflexible will to confirm the independence of their republic."

President Appoints New Ambassador to U.S.

NC1311215792 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 13 Nov 92

[Decree issued by President Abulfaz Elchibey; place, date not given]

[Text] In accordance with Article (121) of the Constitution, Clause 12, Paragraph 4, and on the foreign minister's recommendation, I hereby appoint Akif Mirkelam oglu Pashayev as Azerbaijan's extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador to the United States. In addition, he will also be accredited to [word indistinct], Mexico, Cuba, and the other countries in South America.

Pashayev will be issued with documents identifying him as Azerbaijan's ambassador. The Azerbaijan Council of Ministers is instructed to examine and approve matters related to the material, technical, and financial requirements of the embassy. The republic's Foreign Ministry is instructed to establish the embassy's [word indistinct], diplomatic, and technical staff.

Elchibey Appoints Mamedov as First Deputy Procurator

NC1411214692 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 13 Nov 92

[Text] President Abulfaz Elchibey has issued a decree appointing El'dar Baladzha oglu Mamedov as first deputy procurator of the republic.

Military Representatives Fail To Agree on Prisoners

*NC1411193692 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1150
GMT 14 Nov 92*

[Text] Baku 14.11.92 (ASSA-IRADA)—One more meeting of the military departments' representatives of Armenia and Azerbaijan hasn't yielded any results.

It took place on the borderline of the two republics, between Idzhevan and Kazakh Provinces. The main point of the meeting was to establish a status of war-prisoners and civilians taken hostages. Azeri side suggested that the edicts of the two presidents should be prepared on the unconditional releasing of all hostages and maintaining the provisions of issues concerning the war-prisoners. The representatives of Armenian Ministry for Defence did as usual alluding on the absence of plenary powers to solve such problems instead of the corresponding departments of so-called Nagorno-Karabakh Republic. Meanwhile, the stabilized warfare proceeds on the north of Karabakh and in Lachin Province of Azerbaijan, ASSA-IRADA learned at the Ministry for Defence of the republic.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Says Russian Remains Factor in Decisionmaking

*OW1611132992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1151
GMT 16 Nov 92*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, the chairman of the Georgian parliament, declared that "irrespective of part of the Georgian population's attitude to Russia and to the Russian army we should keep in mind that the existence of the independent Georgia without the consideration of the Russian factor will be complicated." In his traditional address to the Georgian population on Monday, Shevardnadze pointed out that "if this factor is not taken into consideration, our position will worsen." According to Shevardnadze, Moscow "reacts to the events and phenomena actually existing between the former USSR republics" with delay. He had in mind the delay with the resuming of work on the Russian-Georgian inter-state agreement, with the appointment of the Russian ambassador to Tbilisi.

Speaking about the Ossetian-Ingushian conflict, Shevardnadze expressed his opinion saying that this conflict was the result of a lack of attention to "separatism joined with extremism" on the part of Russia. According to Shevardnadze, the Russian leadership failed to localize the phenomena and processes, which are being implemented under the auspices of the Confederation of the mountain Caucasian peoples. "I do not think that the measures implemented by Russia and its law enforcement bodies (in North Ossetia and Ingushetia) will be fruitless," he said.

The Georgian leader has not touched upon the issues concerning the CIS prospects. He believes that the existence of the Commonwealth only aggravates the relations between the former USSR republics, in particular, between Russia and Ukraine. "I am sure that if there were no CIS then Ukraine and Russia could find a common language much earlier." Georgia has no intention of hurrying with the issue on the CIS membership. "It seems to me that the course aimed at the bilateral relations is not a justified one," the head of the parliament believes.

Negotiations To Prepare Agreement on Russian Army Status

*LD1611111192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1012
GMT 16 Nov 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi November 16 TASS—A group of experts of the Russian Defence Ministry joined on Monday in the negotiations on the drafting of a treaty on friendship and cooperation between Russia and Georgia. The group is headed by Colonel-General Aleksandr Galkin. The negotiations began in Tbilisi on Friday. Russian and Georgian military should prepare for the signing an agreement on the status of Russian troops and frontier guards units in Georgia.

The negotiations should lay down a legal groundwork for interstate relations between the two countries which have been linked historically, politically and economically for centuries. The sides are represented at the negotiations by ambassador at large of the Russian Foreign Ministry Felix Kovalev and First Deputy Head of the Georgian Foreign Ministry Mikhail Ukleba. Besides the interstate treaty, the Russian and Georgian delegations should also coordinate the draft package of documents for comprehensive settlement of many matters of mutual interest. The negotiations are to last till November 20.

Shevardnadze Addresses Sukhumi Aktiv on Abkhazia

*MK1311153092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in
Russian 13 Nov 92 p 3*

[Report by Tengiz Pachkoriya: "Eduard Shevardnadze Visits Sukhumi. Townspeople Demand Strengthening of Troop Discipline"]

[Excerpts] As you know, Eduard Shevardnadze, Georgian head of state, was in Sukhumi 11 November. On the evening of 11 November he met with representatives of the Sukhumi public and the city's economic aktiv at the Abkhazian Council of Ministers. Addressing this meeting, which lasted more than three hours, Eduard Shevardnadze thanked Sukhumi's residents for taking part in the Georgian parliamentary elections 11 November, noting that the results of those elections exceeded all his expectations. He also said that a uniform

parliament has not resulted, but that the parliament is unanimous in its intention to bring the war in Abkhazia to a fitting conclusion. On this point Shevardnadze said that the war in Abkhazia is not against the Abkhazian people but against separatists and extremists. He said that there are plenty of people among the Abkhazian people and Abkhazian public figures who are "seeking a proper niche" for themselves in settling this conflict. Eduard Shevardnadze pointed out that the Georgian leadership must tackle military matters in earnest, since "we have encountered irresponsibility and weakness on this issue" and all this has resulted in Sukhumi's being left without light today. He noted that it is necessary to set up an efficient government that can be seriously called to account and asked the gathering to talk frankly about the situation in Abkhazia, the accumulated problems, and ways of resolving them. [passage omitted]

Shevardnadze acknowledged that whole ministries and departments are working rather poorly and inertly to overcome Abkhazia's difficulties. Late in the evening 11 November Eduard Shevardnadze flew to Tbilisi.

Pessimistic About Peace

LD1311142992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2200 GMT 12 Nov 92

["Special report" by Nikolay Mamulashvili of IPRINDA news agency]

[Text] The situation in Abkhazia continues to be complicated, especially in the power-starved town of Sukhumi, where there is virtually no electricity. Admittedly, the Sukhumi hydroelectric power station came back into service on 12 November, but its output is low, serving only to pump water to residential areas of the town.

Eduard Shevardnadze, head of the Georgian Government, said that every effort will be made to ensure that electricity supplies to Sukhumi are restored within two days. If this fails to happen, special Armenian-made generators will be delivered to the town. Although they will not resolve the problem entirely, they should at least improve the power supply situation in the town.

As has already been reported, Eduard Shevardnadze visited Sukhumi on 11 November. Addressing public representatives in the town, he said the republic's parliament is unanimous in its intention to bring the war in Abkhazia to a dignified conclusion. The chances of a peaceful settlement to the conflict are now dimmer than they were before 3 September, he said. At the same time, he stressed that Georgia has no interest in a protracted war.

Shevardnadze also said that tightening of discipline among officers and men of the Georgian Armed Forces deployed in Abkhazia is now a priority question. Public representatives of the town who addressed the meeting put forward specific proposals for improving the operational situation in Sukhumi. Among other things, it was

suggested that the city commandant ought to be a local police official and that military police detachments supervising the situation in the town ought to be transferred to the jurisdiction of the Sukhumi police directorate.

Defense Ministry Protests Russian Ship Violation of Poti Blockade

LD1411183392 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1151 GMT 14 Nov 92

[Text] Yesterday, 13 November, a vessel arrived in Poti with armed sailors on its deck. Having violated the ban by force, by means of a series of automatic weapons shots, the vessel broke through the line of ships on duty and invaded the Poti naval port. At present the vessel is in the port.

In this context, the press service of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Georgia issued an official statement, which says, inter alia:

"Such actions by the military at a time when a Russian delegation is staying in Georgia are absolutely incomprehensible. We strictly adhere to our position. Military laws must be observed, and we definitely do not want war with Russia. This is already the third instance of the use of force by sailors, which is absolutely not in the interests of either side."

Aide Denies Port Closed

MK1611094792 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Nov 92 p 1

[NEGA report under the "In Brief" rubric: "Georgia"]

[Text] The Georgian parliament's press center has reported that Aleksandr Dzhavakhishvili, commander of the Georgian naval forces, said that "the Russian naval brigade in the port of Poti is not under any blockade."

"The tightening up of the procedure for entering and leaving the Poti naval base is due to Georgia's state interests," A. Dzhavakhishvili said, "in particular, the fact that the city of Poti is effectively in the Abkhazian conflict zone."

The commander of the Georgian naval forces recalled that a Russian amphibious assault ship entered Poti's merchant port by agreement with the Georgians 11 November in order to take out servicemen's families and their property. "We will provide them with every assistance to ensure that this ship is loaded up and leaves the port on time," Aleksandr Dzhavakhishvili stressed.

Abkhaz Leader Explains Grounds for Conflict

AU1611095392 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Nov 92 pp 1, 12

[Interview with Vladislav Georgiyevich Ardzinba, chairman of the Abkhaz Parliament, by Boris Latta and Lubomir Stancek in Gudauta "a few days ago": "To Be or Not To Be an Abkhaz"]

[Text] A few days ago in Gudauta, the temporary administrative center of Abkhazia (Sukhumi is occupied by Georgian troops), we asked Vladislav Georgiyevich Ardzinba, the highest Abkhaz political representative, for an interview.

[PRAVDA] During the rule of Georgian President Gamsakhurdia, you used to be labeled an "agent" of Moscow, an active member of the conservative parliamentary faction "Soyuz," a close friend of the "black" colonel Alksnis, and the like. What is true?

[Ardzinba] I have never been a member of that faction. If I belonged somewhere, it was the interregional parliamentary group, together with Popov (former mayor of Moscow—editor's note) and Sobchak (the present mayor of St Petersburg). As for my relations with deputies, I was on good terms with many of them as colleagues. That was also true of the aforementioned people's deputy Alksnis. And an agent of Moscow? When they said that under Gamsakhurdia, they wanted to fabricate a negative image of myself. And today the very same people claim that I am Gamsakhurdia's man. It is absurd.

[PRAVDA] What is your assessment of the present state of the Abkhaz-Georgian conflict?

[Ardzinba] Our present position differs little from the position we held before the military conflict started. However, it would be inaccurate to call the dispute an Abkhaz-Georgian conflict. We are not fighting against the Georgian nation or Georgia but against the regime in Tbilisi, a regime that decides with the use of force not only on Georgia but also on Ossetia and Abkhazia. In our opinion, a country that has been admitted into the United Nations should comply with the elementary rules embedded in the Charter of that organization, including respect for human rights. I believe that it was precisely the international recognition of Georgia and Shevardnadze's image in the world that have untied the hands of the Georgian leadership. Today in Tbilisi the highest political representative hides behind the shield of a "peace dove" while on the territory of Abkhazia he acts as only fascists can act. What is happening here is similar to what happened in your country when it was invaded by [Soviet] tanks [in 1968].

[PRAVDA] It is being said that a third force figures in the conflict in Abkhazia; one is hinting at the indirect participation of Moscow.

[Ardzinba] Those who speak about Russia's interference should bear in mind the following facts: the tanks, the aircraft, and the enormous quantity of weapons and ammunition that Moscow handed over to Georgia. Some of them were surrendered to the Georgians only one week before the Georgian troops invaded Abkhazia. One also cannot pass over in silence the fact that to this day the world community has not addressed a single word of criticism to Tbilisi for its use of force against Sukhumi.

[PRAVDA] Why, do you think, do the Georgian politicians handle the Abkhaz problem in this way?

[Ardzinba] Not only territorial demands are at stake but also the intention to gradually liquidate the Abkhaz nation by means of assimilation. There is an interest in "forgetting" the 1,200-year-old existence of our statehood. Some Georgians, together with Lavrentiy Beria, sought to accomplish this during the Stalinist era. History is repeating itself....

[PRAVDA] Aleksandr Chikvaidze, the chief of Georgian diplomacy, has said more than once about the transfer of Georgian troops to Abkhazia that this was a case of "redeployment," which was preceded by the consent of [Georgian] parliament and, supposedly, also your own consent.

[Ardzinba] First of all, I must say that at the time of the troops' transfer to our territory there did not even exist a parliament in Tbilisi, only a provisional military council. I assure you that there does not exist any document proving our knowledge of the troops' transfer. I have declared this several times already. On 13 August at around 1430 I contacted Shevardnadze by phone. The reason was the fourth instance of Georgian Army troops being transferred to the territory of Mingrelia (territory neighboring on Abkhazia). Naturally, we were concerned lest these troops be used against us when deemed appropriate. Shevardnadze assured me that this had nothing to do with Abkhazia and that no troops would cross our border. The next morning proved that our apprehensions were warranted.... The war that lasts to this day started. And Shevardnadze? He is constantly changing the "reason" for his decision to use force against us. Once he speaks about our consent, another time about the protection of railroads or other strategic installations. He has even claimed that everything started when we attacked a Georgian unit returning to the territory of Georgia....

[PRAVDA] Are you suggesting that the present political helmsmen in Tbilisi cannot be trusted and that it was they who provoked the conflict?

[Ardzinba] I will reply to you with specific quotes, the authors of which have influence on what happens in Georgia today. General Karkarashvili (the front's chief commander), for example, said that he is ready to sacrifice the lives of 100,000 Georgians to destroy the 97,000 Abkhaz. In one of his speeches Shevardnadze called this creature [tiezclovek] a cavalier. Or take the statement made on 20 October on Georgian Television by Minister of Foreign Affairs Chikvaidze, a man who has seen the world and knows foreign cultures, that if the Abkhaz seize all their territory, they will pronounce a sentence of death on themselves. Do such statements require comment?

[PRAVDA] It is known that mercenaries are fighting on the Georgian side. Most of them are Russian specialists—pilots and tank crews, for example. Are they also fighting on your side?

[Ardzinba] You should believe what I am saying because it would be difficult to verify my words in the field. I am telling you honestly that to this day there has not been a single mercenary on our territory. All the non-Abkhaz came here voluntarily, without claiming financial compensation. They responded either to our appeal or to the appeal of the Confederation of the Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus. Cossacks, Muscovites, and people from St Petersburg are fighting at our side. They are part of our armed forces with all rights and duties. They do not receive a single kopek for their participation in the fighting.

[PRAVDA] The world media often claim that the volunteers from northern Caucasus are not subordinated to the Abkhaz command and that they are fundamentalist Muslims.

[Ardzinba] This is Shevardnadze's favorite card because he knows that the West has a strictly defined attitude toward Islamic fundamentalism. Our attitude toward it is the same as the position of Western Europe. On no account is the religious factor at play here. Is it possible, for example, to consider the Cossacks Muslims? Tbilisi is chronically forgetful of the fact that the overwhelming majority of Abkhaz are Christians. You will find here many churches but not a single mosque. Invoking the "threat of Islamic fundamentalism" in connection with the conflict in Abkhazia is designed to fool the uninitiated.

[PRAVDA] How do you think will the conflict evolve further? We are asking mainly because on the other side of the front we saw heavy weaponry and aircraft while your people often only have hunting rifles.

[Ardzinba] The conflict has been forced upon us. We are only defending the right to live under the sun, in this country. We give the other nationalities living in Abkhazia the same rights, whether they are Georgians, Armenians, Russians, or Greeks. The majority of the people living in Abkhazia, irrespective of nationality, did not wish the conflict. Tbilisi, however, is doing all it can to make a political conflict evolve into a national conflict. That is also why they distributed weapons to the Georgians who live here. Many of them dropped them as soon as they could, however, or joined Gamsakhurdia. I am convinced that also many of those standing on the other side of the front do not want to fight. The only solution is a return to the status quo prior to 13 August this year, that is, withdrawal of Georgian troops that invaded our territory after this date. Then we will negotiate. As equals with equals. If this does not work out, however, we will defend ourselves. Without exaggeration, we are facing Hamlet's question: To be or not to be Abkhaz?

Abkhazian Defense Minister on Situation in Conflict Zone

OW1311200292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1917 GMT 13 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Around 400 Abkhazians have died during the three months of fighting, 327 of whom were servicemen and partisans. The remainder were ordinary citizens caught up in the shelling. The above statement was made on Friday by Abkhazian Defence Minister Vladimir Arshba at a press conference in Gudauta. Arshba said that the dead included representatives of over 30 nationalities.

The defence minister said that Georgian losses came to 1,100 dead and 3,500 casualties. He also said that the Abkhazians had handed over 8 prisoners of war to the Georgians as an act of good will and were awaiting similar gestures and the initiation of an exchange process by the Georgian side.

Arshba stressed that Abkhazian units controlled around 70

of the republic's territory. In his opinion the Abkhazians "had the opportunity to rid the Abkhazian territory of Georgian troops", but pointed out that this opportunity would not be used while there was still the slightest chance that the conflict could be resolved by peaceful methods.

The minister also stressed that a border patrol was now being formed by the Abkhazian Defence Ministry. The border troops had already taken control over the border with Russia, the coastline, and the republic's mountainous areas.

Parliament Elects Permanent Commission Chairmen

NC1311120992 Yerevan SNARK in English 1706 GMT 12 Nov 92

[Names as received]

[Text] Tbilisi, November 12 (SNARK)—Today the parliament permanent commissions chairmen elections have been taken place. Vazha Adamia has been elected as chairman of the Law and Order Commission, Giga Lordkipanidze—as chairman of the Commission of the Human Rights and the National Minorities Affairs, Nodar Natsadze—as chairman of the Defence and the National Security Commission, Valerian Advadze—as chairman of the Economy Commission. The Georgian Parliament continues its work.

Estonia

Meri Satisfied With Moscow's Assurance on Troop Withdrawal

OW1311193492 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1908 GMT 13 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Estonian President, Lennart Meri, says he is content with President Yeltsin's assurance that the Russian troops will be pulled out of the Estonian territory as quickly as possible. This message was contained in President Yeltsin's congratulatory November 5 address to President Meri on the occasion his election to the post of Estonia's head of state.

On Friday, the Estonian President passed through Russia's Ambassador in Tallinn, Mr Trofimov, his reply to President Yeltsin. He writes, in particular, that Estonia, for its part, will all contribute to the expeditious and complete withdrawal of the Russian troops.

Lennart Meri qualified as the "issue of honor" the application of generally acceptable legal norms to all of the Estonian residents regardless of their nationality and faith. In his words, the presence in Estonia of Russian-speaking population is regarded as a factor "facilitating contacts between Estonia and Russia".

The press service of the Estonian President reports that Lennart Meri received the ambassadors of foreign states accredited in Tallinn and informed them of the contents of his return address to President Yeltsin.

Russian Navy Owes Government Over \$80,000

WS1311130192 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE
in English 1557 GMT 12 Nov 92

[Text] Tallinn, 12 November 1992—The Russian navy stationed in Estonia owes Estonia over one million kroons (about \$80,600) in unpaid bills for water, electricity, food and transport, the head of the navy garrison stationed in Tallinn, vice-admiral Juriy Belov, told ETA.

Estonian authorities have warned the navy that unless all debts are paid, the navy will be left without water and electricity. The Russian government's decision passed on Wednesday [11 November] on selling Estonia gas for kroons and using the currency to maintain the army stationed in Estonia would help the military financially, according to Belov.

The Russian navy will leave Estonia by the summer of 1993, Belov told ETA.

Prolongation of Soviet Passports Limited to Citizens

OW1311211292 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1548 GMT 13 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The decision made by the Estonian government to prolong the validity of Soviet passports in the republic until September 1, 1993, applies only to the Estonian citizens, Mart Nutt, chairman of the parliamentary commission for state and legal issues and one of the leaders of the ruling majority, told BALTFAX.

As regards the Estonian non-citizens, their number, in Mr Nutt's opinion "does not exceed a dozen people". All the other residents in the republic, he avers, will be regarded as foreign citizens in compliance with international law and they should remain under the Russian jurisdiction for it is the Soviet Union's legal successor.

Their problem, Mr Nutt said, can only be addressed through the issue to them of internationally recognized passports of foreign residents, which is technically too difficult to effect, or their passports will be pronounced invalid upon their arrival in Estonia.

Velliste Comments on Visit to Scandinavia

WS1311130892 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN
in English 1557 GMT 12 Nov 92

[From 12 November POSTIMEES, RAHVA HAAL, PAEVALEHT p 1]

[Text] "It was the aim of my visit to explain my counterparts the situation in our country and to have closer ties with Scandinavia. The nicest result of my visit was the agreement with Denmark and Norway to establish visa-free travelling between the three countries," Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste said on his arrival from his visit. "It will probably happen next year already, negotiations are being held with Sweden as well."

Velliste met his Danish counterpart Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, his Swedish counterpart Margaretha Ugglas and his Norwegian counterpart Thorvald Stoltenberg, held lots of lectures and met politicians as well as businessmen.

"Lots of people in the West find that our arguments on human rights in Estonia are too legitimistic," Velliste described his speeches in Denmark and Sweden. "They say that life is life. It is our task to explain and explain that Estonia is not a republic which broke free from the Soviet Union but a state re-establishing its independence. I have the feeling that I could convince my audiences of the reality," Velliste said.

Velliste thinks that we should support Russia's proposal to discuss human rights in the Baltic States in UNO

[United Nations Organization] Council of Security. "We have nothing to fear because our conscience is clean," he stressed.

Meeting Mrs. Ugglas, Velliste apologized for the ill behaviour of those Estonians who helped Iraqi refugees on their flight to Sweden stressing the lack of technique as the main reason for such mistakes. All Scandinavian countries promised to aid Estonia in border defence. Estonia's Minister of the Interior will agree on the details of such aid and on its arrival

Velliste confessed that the Scandinavian countries are concerned about the processes going on in Russia. He discussed relations with Russia at every meeting. Velliste told the news conference of the intention of Denmark to give 50 million Danish crowns [kroner] to Russia for building flats for the military leaving the Baltic States. Norway has also announced of its wish to give money for building flats but Russia has given no response. According to Velliste, the Scandinavian countries are supporting the Baltics with quick troop withdrawal. "It is quite another thing when politicians recognized in Europe are going to speak about the situation in the country instead of having merely our own representatives on international forums," Velliste said.

"Scandinavian countries are our best supporters in the EC," Velliste affirmed. "It is important to have closer contacts with these countries as they are the best lawyers we have if we should be misunderstood in the international arena."

Laar Details Narva Meeting on Socioeconomic Issues

*LD1311205192 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian
1800 GMT 12 Nov 92*

[Excerpts] Prime Minister Mart Laar held very serious and important meetings today in Narva. Aldur Paaro reports:

[Begin recording] [Paaro] [passage omitted] How would you summarize the meetings here yesterday and today?

[Laar] First, despite the fairly stormy beginning yesterday, the visit has been more constructive than dramatic. I would say that almost all the meetings the government representatives and the whole delegation held on different levels were characterized by a constructive spirit and common understanding that the current problems facing Narva are not political or ethnic but are, first and foremost, economic and social issues. These issues are the same kind of problems that the whole of Estonia is facing at present and many of the questions raised in Narva are exactly the same ones that the government has been aware of across all of Estonia. This, for example, concerns laws on the unemployment situation and must be resolved by adopting laws affecting the whole of Estonia. And in principle, most of the issues we

discussed comprise simply a small section, a reflection of all the issues characterizing all of Estonia.

The government will definitely consider it necessary to strengthen border procedures. We received an answer in the affirmative from [Mayor of Narva] Mr. Mizhuy which took some time to come, on building a normal border checkpoint in Narva.

Narva enterprises have understood fully that the Eastern market is finished as, well, the chaos reigning in the East does not allow one to trade there any longer. One has to find out which enterprises are capable of production and to endeavor to support them also in some way. The government must make clear which enterprises will be bankrupt, decide which enterprises are necessary to the state, and which are necessary to support at any one moment in one way or another. Well, it is simply time to decide these matters and not postpone them with the future so uncertain. [passage omitted]

If leading officials in the city promise unrest and conflict in numerous interviews with Western journalists, then I know of specific cases where certain Western firms have simply refused to come into such an unstable region. I believe this problem is being understood better and better, even here in Narva. This kind of problem is against their own interests, exactly the same as the Russian campaign works against... [pauses] well, that is, the Russian statements that troops will not be withdrawn, that there is inter-ethnic conflict in Estonia, and so on. In fact, these work most specifically against the economic interests of the area. [end recording]

Enterprises' Debts to State Frozen

*OW1311211792 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1548 GMT 13 Nov 92*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Estonian government resolved Thursday to freeze the debts to the republic's state budget of Estonia's major light industry enterprise "Kreenholmi Manufaktuur" in Narva. This will enable the enterprise to resume its normal operation beginning from November 20.

During his earlier meetings in Narva, the Estonian prime minister, Mart Laar, said that the other enterprises' debts to the state will also be frozen.

Head of the budgetary department of the Estonian Ministry of Finance, Agu Lellep, characterized this decision as "political" which had long been expected and prompted by the Estonian economic circles.

The decision regarding the freeze of the enterprises' debts to the state (which implies no interest rates for untimely payment of debts) is viewed by the observers as the government's departure from its program envisaging no subsidies to enterprises nor any other forms of assistance by the state.

Also widely criticized is the fact that the first company to be accorded this concession turned out to be an enterprise in predominantly Russian-populated Narva.

Given the Estonian parliament tax and budget commission resolved a week ago that it would be senseless to avert bankruptcy of major enterprises (the government program contains a provision to that effect), the chairman of the commission, Valve Kirsipuu, admitted this week that the commission was reconsidering their views.

Mr Lellep informed BALTFAX that the enterprises' debt to the budget amounted to 469 mn EK [million Estonian kroner] by the November 1, which, he admitted, in reality it may exceed 500 mn EK since the statistics regarding taxes in the third quarter of the year have not been summarized yet.

In the opinion of Mr Lellep, the government decision to freeze debts for the Kreenholm should not be automatically applied to all the enterprises.

The Kreenholm, in the meantime, is one of the biggest debtor to the state, its debts running to nearly 100 mn EK. The factory has not received any money from its partners both in Russia (951 mn rbls [rubles] or 30 mn EK) and in Estonia (36 mn EK), so it had to send 6,000 out of 8,000 of its employees on a leave. This aggravated the situation in this town on the Estonian-Russian border to the extreme.

The Kreenholm is known to have an extensive export potential, but the factory cannot make use of it due to the existing financial difficulties.

Farmers Seek Tariffs on Agricultural Imports

OW1411165192 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1631 GMT 14 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The farming sector of Estonia's economy has appealed to the government for customs tariffs on farm imports. The measure is expected to help in competition with foreign food products increasingly imported to the republic.

The appeal was handed to the Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar by spokesmen of the Farm Producers' Union, joint-stock companies, and farm-stead leagues.

The Farm Producers' Union urged the government to establish a way of subsidizing agriculture and a pricing mechanism that would raise rural living standards to those enjoyed by industrial workers.

Estonia's agriculture is undergoing a bad crisis. In the past nine months milk production has dropped 22% compared to last year, and meat production—by 33%. The food industry owes 140 mn [million] kroon to the farm producers who, in turn, are 53 mn kroon in debt for fuel.

Legislature Adopts Law on Copyright

WS1311130692 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN
in English 1557 GMT 12 Nov 92

[From 12 November RAHVA HAAL, POSTIMEES p 1]

[Text] The Riigikogu passed the law on copyright yesterday with 72 votes in favour. Culture and Education Minister Paul-Eerik Rummo pointed out that only after passing that law can Estonia become a reliable partner in international relations and get rid of a pirate's reputation. He admitted that joining the Bern Convention will cost 150,000 kroons, but added that member countries of the convention are entitled to certain special favours (for example concerning the publishing of translations, scientific or educational literature). The copyright law is the basic framework to be followed by more definite laws and resolutions. The list of products concerned includes 23 items. The copyright will last for the life of the author and 50 years after the death.

The draft law on the state budget passed its first reading. The draft law was presented by the Royalists and chairperson of parliamentary budget and taxation commission Valve Kirsipuu commended the efficiency of the small faction which had prepared the draft while a 50-member Finance Ministry work group had failed to do so in time. The draft law will determine the order of forming the budget and is based on the 1938 state budget law which has been amended according to the constitution, Kalle Kulbok said. The fiscal year is to begin on April 1. However, Valve Kirsipuu questioned that proposition, pointing out that in the EC countries the fiscal year generally coincides with the calendar year. Besides, the Finance Ministry has already prepared the draft for 1993 budget. The Royalists' draft may become the basis for the law for the 1994 budget, she said.

Latvia

Note Sent to Russian Foreign Ministry on Border

LD1311202492 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
1830 GMT 13 Nov 92

[Text] The Latvian Foreign Ministry has sent a note to the Russian Foreign Ministry, pointing out that the Republic of Latvia and the Russian Federation have only one recognized interstate border, determined by the Peace Treaty of 11 August 1920. This treaty was ratified by Russia on 9 September 1920, and on 16 December 1920 it was registered with the League of Nations.

Observing the principle of inviolability of borders, the resolution of the Russian Federation on assigning legal status to the state border between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Latvia, the Republic of Lithuania, and the Republic of Estonia is viewed by the Latvian Foreign Ministry as an attempt to revise these state borders and as a violation of international law. The Latvian Foreign Ministry believes that issues concerning the borderline must be settled in interstate talks.

Russian Troops To Leave Military Range 23 Nov*LD1311150592 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
2100 GMT 12 Nov 92*

[Text] More accurate information about withdrawal of the Russian Army from the Zvarde military range was received on Thursday [12 November]. The last echelon of bombers will leave the Zvarde military range on 23 November and two Army units, currently stationed in the Zalites rural district of the Bauska Rayon, will also leave within the next few days. This was reported to the BNS news agency by a counsellor to the minister of state, Eriks (Tilga). An Army unit stationed at the Adazi military range will also be withdrawn.

It seems that such an announcement could only be assessed as Russia's effort to react [words indistinct] announcement by the Russian president.

By the way, Russia is short of funds to maintain its military formations in the Baltic states.

Prime Minister's Popularity Dropping 'Sharply'*LD1311180292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
1454 GMT 13 Nov 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga November 13 TASS—Sociologists have noted the sharply dropping popularity rating of Latvian Premier Ivars Godmanis. It has become negative for the first time. The popularity rating table, published today by the newspaper "SM-SEGODNYA", is stopped by Culture Minister Raymonds Pauls and ex-foreign minister Janis Jurkans, whose resignation increased the number of his supporters.

Hardly anybody was surprised by the results of the poll. The Cabinet of Ministers is lately coming under increasing criticism. Even plants, the production of which is in short supply (glass, crockery, bricks and cement), are being brought to a standstill. The amount of goods, remaining unsold in storehouses, increased by 75 per cent in October. They are uncompetitive on the western market, while eastern customers were lost due to the disadvantageous exchange rates against the rouble, introduced by the Latvian Bank. The exchange rate of the Russian rouble against its Latvian counterpart now equals to 0,35 [figure as received]. The budget debts are growing rapidly. They have reached 4.7 billion roubles and there is no money to pay pensions. The authorities have promised to pay them in November, but are uncertain about December. The population is particularly stunned by the growth of the cost of communal services. Most people cannot afford them.

Godmanis Explains State Property Privatization*OW1511173492 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1608 GMT 15 Nov 92*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis said at a press conference in Riga that his government's resolution on privatising state property will come into force only together with a number of parliamentary decisions, such as the adoption of a bill on privatisation certificate and amendments to the bill on privatisation which allows to conduct it only for Latvian rubles.

The facilities which began to prepare privatisation documents must submit them to the relevant ministries before November 18. The plants belonging to no ministry must submit their documents to the Ministry of Finances. The plants that fail to present their privatisation documents before the appointed time will automatically become state-owned joint-stock societies with a reserved part of property to be bought out for certificates by the pension fund and by the fund of former owners.

The government instructed the ministries to expand before December 10 the lists of facilities to be sold to foreign and to local entrepreneurs for Latvian rubles without the involvement of certificates.

Lithuania**Preliminary Results Show Democratic Labor Party Majority in Parliament***LD1611093192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0658
GMT 16 Nov 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Kazis Uscila and Vldas Burbulis]

[Text] Vilnius November 16 TASS—Lithuanian reformist communists united in the opposition Democratic Labour Party won the majority of seats in the republican parliament, according to the first results of the second round of election in the Baltic state.

They won 80 out of 141 seats in parliament, and results from 11 constituencies are yet expected.

36 candidates from the party won the second round election and joined 44 Labour Democrats who won in the first round three weeks ago, member of the main election commission Romaldas Ragaishis told TASS, adding that results from 50 out of 61 constituencies were available early on Monday. The "Sajudis" movement received additional 16 seats during the second round and is two times behind the Labour Democrats.

Officially the first results will be announced at a press conference later in the day.

Landsbergis Examines Consequences of Elections*LD1611143292 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in
Lithuanian 0900 GMT 16 Nov 92*

[Statement by Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council, at the Supreme Council building in Vilnius—live]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, the second round of elections to the Lithuanian Seimas has confirmed that the results of the first round were not accidental. There are reasons behind the results, which lie not only in the split of Sajudis and the shortcomings of its activities and not only in the international events and events which have taken place in Lithuania of late or in the difficulties with the economy and power supplies. Some reasons are significantly deeper inside the thoughtful stereotypes formed during the period of several decades of Soviet rule and in the present social structure of present-day Lithuania. These reasons will be subjected to further analysis, perhaps for a long time, and of course, these reasons are not without ties to changes in neighboring countries.

The election results will also have certain consequences, the first of which is possible autocratic rule by the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party [DLP], with a satellite party or without it, similar to the one that existed until 1988.

Of course, there now exist essential differences with that era. The independence of the state has been restored with its institutions, with political bridges to the West, with the features of a democratic society, and with an economy that has already been partially reformed. It is of great importance that these most essential achievements not be lost.

My congratulations to those who won the elections are based on the above hope. The voters believed the promises made by the Lithuanian DLP that they would solve the economic difficulties of everyday life and gave them a mandate, which might appear to reach even further. Now the DLP has become completely responsible for the future of Lithuania and for independence and democracy in this country.

Having accumulated a great deal of competence in ruling under the former Soviet conditions, the DLP will have to adjust this competence to the democratic structures of an independent state. The main question, which will be answered by the Lithuanian DLP politicians and their actions, is and will be: Will the national interests of Lithuania be the priority of the Lithuanian DLP's activities? Will the long-term interests of our state and our people not be sacrificed for short-term political gains? Or for things more in the interest of another country?

It would not be a good thing if party interests and old party habits received priority, which in those times supported crushing the opposition and now will again attempt to violate the democracy that we already have. I hope this will not happen and that the leaders of the Lithuanian DLP have a full understanding of what power they have been given in conjunction with responsibility for the whole country and for stability and peace in Lithuania.

This is the main national interest: in the instability, difficulties, and hesitations in which all the countries of

the former communist empire have found themselves, the European democratic direction of Lithuania must be preserved.

Brazauskas Says DLP Ready To Take Over Government

WS1311130492 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1434 GMT 12 Nov 92

[Text] 12 November 1992—In the meeting with the DLP [Democratic Labor Party] supporters held at the DLP headquarters, its chairman Algirdas Brazauskas said that the propaganda against his party could be evaluated as the propaganda against Lithuania. Foreign politicians look more realistically upon these events than the local ones.

According to Algirdas Brazauskas, the demands of the International Monetary Fund could be applied only for a economically strong state. If subsidies for the production of agriculture were stopped, the prices for food products would increase as much as four times. The result of the unreasonable and politicized agrarian reform is untitled fields, the leader of DLP noted. Speaking about the elections to the Seim, A. Brazauskas said that with the victory of Sajudis candidates in the second round the work of the Lithuanian Seim would become unconstructive. The DLP deputies are ready to take over the ruling responsibilities.

Members of the DLP are concerned about armed political organizations. If all the political problems are solved with the help of weapons, the West will certainly turn its back for Lithuania, A. Brazauskas said.

Landsbergis Deems Prospects for Coalition Unclear

WS1311130292 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1434 GMT 12 Nov 92

[Text] 12 November 1992—Returning from Brussels to Vilnius, Chairman of the Supreme Council Vytautas Landsbergis made a short stop in Warsaw where he met with journalists.

To the question about a possible coalition for the new government V. Landsbergis replied: "talks about coalition are very unclear. It is all rhetoric, which might be explained later, that these and the others do not want to work together. Opposition in democracy is needed. The Sajudis coalition and the movement "For a Democratic Lithuania" will fulfill those functions in time. But, for now we have to wait for the end of the elections because there still might be some corrections. Our position is very clear; the program currently being executed in the Government is the realization of the Sajudis program. Therefore, it is not up to us to create a new program but it is up to the DLP [Democratic Labor Party] which brings up a question: will a different program render the changes in the Lithuanian political course insignificant, and will other economic evils become meaningless if

Lithuania isolates itself from the World Bank and the IMF. We see a perspective to get out of difficulty. If the DLP changes this direction then we will have to defend our program."

He also indicated that he will raise his candidacy to the Lithuanian Republic presidential elections.

Council of Europe Observers Comment on Elections

*LD1611120592 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
1119 GMT 16 Nov 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Kazis Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius November 16 TASS—Assessing the decision of the main electoral commission to give mandates to the newly elected members of the Lithuanian Sejm (parliament) only after investigating whether or not they cooperated with the KGB or the secret services of other countries, head of the group of observers from the Council of Europe Jens Toft said that from the legal point of view the decision would be unacceptable for the Council of Europe member states.

On the initiative of some observers representing international organisations and some heads of diplomatic missions in Lithuania, the main electoral commission had a meeting on Sunday. However, the suggestion that it cancel its decision was rejected once again.

Gediminas Kirkilas, first deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party and deputy to the Lithuanian Sejm, described as a "conspiracy against democracy" the decision of the main electoral commission to reject the proposal of the observers and to continue the "hunt for KGB agents."

The Lithuanian Supreme Court is expected to meet today in the afternoon and to begin examining the application of the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, which asked to recognise the decision of the main electoral committee as contradicting the law on the election to the Sejm.

Election Commission Appeals to Court on Investigation of KGB Links

*OW1311210692 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1549
GMT 13 Nov 92*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Head of the Lithuanian Main Elections Commission, Albertas Zilinskas, said in an interview to the "TIESA" daily paper that the social democratic party has appealed to the republic's Supreme Court, asking to reconsider the resolution by that Commission in regards to subjecting all of the deputies of the republic's new Seimas to a check-up in order to establish their possible collaboration with the KGB in the past.

As was reported earlier, the Main Elections Commission resolved October 10 that the deputies will be issued their credentials only after the commission for investigating the KGB activities in Lithuania of the republic's Supreme Council has confirmed that they never collaborated either with the KGB or the special services of any other states.

Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Court, Mindaugas Losys, told BALTFAX correspondent the appeal most probably will be addressed November 18.

In the meantime, according to the report of the "LIETUVOS AIDAS" daily paper, the parliamentary commission for investigating the KGB activities in Lithuania has already presented to the Main Elections Commission its materials on six deputies. The chairman of the Commission, Balys Gajaskus, refused to identify them or the parties they represent.

Democratic Labor Protests Checks on Deputies

*OW1611130492 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1142 GMT 16 Nov 92*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking about the Central Electoral Commission's decision to check on the newly-elected deputies' contacts with the KGB, First Vice-Chairman of the Democratic Labour Party described it as a conspiracy against democracy.

During the second round of the election to the Lithuanian Sejm, Sunday, the Central Electoral Commission gathered for a session in the parliament building on the initiative of the delegation of the Council of Europe, which had arrived in Lithuania to oversee the elections, and of the leaders of some diplomatic missions in Vilnius who proposed that the deputies' mandates should be issued following the check. Although there were heated disputes, the decision of the Central Electoral Commission was not reversed.

On Monday, this question will be considered by the Supreme Court which received the Social-Democratic Party's protest against the Central Electoral Commission's decision. The Social-Democratic Party described it as going against the law on election.

Minister Insists on Continued Russian Troop Withdrawal

*LD1311141192 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in
Lithuanian 1900 GMT 12 Nov 92*

[Text] Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas and his first deputy Valdemaras Katkus met today with journalists at a briefing in the government house. Minister Saudargas informed them about a conference in the Foreign Ministry called: The realities and prospects of Lithuania's foreign policy, which was for the first time attended by almost all leaders of the diplomatic corps representing Lithuania abroad. The exchange of views on the trends

of the Lithuanian foreign policy, noted the minister, will undoubtedly have a positive influence on the further consolidation of our statehood.

Journalists were especially interested in Lithuanian-Russian relations in view of the proposal by President Yeltsin that the issue of the violation of human rights and freedoms in the Baltic states be included in the UN General Assembly's agenda. In the opinion of Minister Saudargas, the stand of the Baltic states should be united, even though direct claims towards Lithuania have not been expressed. In any case, the problems of national minorities in Russia and Lithuania should be solved in bilateral negotiations.

The issue of the withdrawal of the Russian Army from Lithuania, irrespective of whatever level at which the agreements have been signed, is a fait accompli, registered by the United Nations. Therefore this agreement should not be regarded as departmental and should be implemented. At the same time, the minister noted that relations between Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis and Russian President Boris Yeltsin, based on the mutual understanding of the interests of both sides, should in any case continue. The minister and his first deputy also answered other questions.

Chief Negotiator Says Russians Increasing Pressure at Talks

LD1411140592 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2150 GMT 13 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Kazis Ustisla]

[Text] Vilnius, 14 Nov—"Manifestly increased pressure is being put on us at the present time"—this conclusion was drawn by Ceslovas Stankevicius, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic, speaking on national television on Friday evening about the course of the talks with the Russian Federation.

A few days ago the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic appointed Ceslovas Stankevicius, who heads the state delegation of the Lithuanian Republic at the talks with Russia, as special ambassador for the talks with the CIS. At a news conference on Thursday, Lithuania's Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas, when asked to comment on this appointment, said that this step was aimed at ensuring consistency and continuity in relations with the Russian Federation.

In his speech on television Ceslovas Stankevicius said that on the questions which had remained unsigned during the meeting between Vytautas Landsbergis and Boris Yeltsin on 8 September, "Russia has introduced new proposals which in essence are demands that Lithuania should make new concessions." Furthermore, the head of the Lithuanian state delegation said, "We

have been told via diplomatic channels that in the near future we will receive proposals which are in fact demands to alter or to suspend some Lithuanian laws."

Ceslovas Stankevicius said that he did not know which laws Russia would demand be changed or suspended, but he expressed the opinion that they would be those which "would be in Russia's interests."

Vytautas Landsbergis's deputy and, seemingly, very close colleague did not openly recommend whom to vote for or whom it would be undesirable to vote for during the second round of the parliamentary elections due to take place on 15 November. However, it is not difficult to understand that his speech pursued primarily electoral aims. Ceslovas Stankevicius noted that Russia would be sending its demands to the new Seimas, after which he asked: Will the Seimas accept these demands and what will be our policy with regard to Russia which the Seimas will determine?

In conclusion, Ceslovas Stankevicius gave assurances that the state delegation "is prepared to continue to adhere to the aims which it considers essential, important and in accord with the interests of Lithuania," and expressed the hope that "the newly elected Seimas will support the efforts of the state delegation at the talks with Russia and that it will be able to work in the same direction."

Economists Urge Additional IMF Consultations

OW1611125192 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1142 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Association of Lithuanian Economists expressed concern about the fact that the Economic Policy Memorandum, approved by the International Monetary Fund, was used as a political argument during the election campaign.

In view of this, the Association circulated a statement which gives a positive assessment of the Memorandum, but notes that the authors of this document should have had more extensive professional discussions to gain deeper knowledge of the Lithuanian economy. The economists believe that the Memorandum puts too strong an emphasis on financial policies and pays little attention to ways of encouraging production and investment.

To soften the "social consequences of the measures envisaged in the Memorandum", additional consultations should be held with the IMF, the statement says.

It also urges economists to unite their efforts in overcoming the current economic crisis. The Association will set up a group of experts who will analyse the economic situation and make proposals on economic restructuring.

Landsbergis Congratulates Tatarstan on Constitution

OW1111042992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1708 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council Vytautas Landsbergis, the first and so far the only official to congratulate President of Tatarstan Mintimer Shaymiyev on the adoption of the republic's new constitution. "This is an historical act of self-determination," states a telegram from Vilnius, "which will promote freedom and the fitting development of mutual relations between Lithuania and Tatarstan."

Supreme Council Considers Resolution on Citizenship

WS1311130392 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1434 GMT 12 Nov 92

[Text] 12 November 1992—The Presidium of the Supreme Council suggested to prepare a new resolution; that all the families of former exiled and political prisoners' returning to Lithuania, their spouses, who do not have the right to the reinstatement of Lithuanian citizenship and who have been married for more than three years—receive their citizenship without hindrance.

The Presidium of the Lithuanian Supreme Council delegated parliamentary Deputy Chairman Ceslovas Stankevicius, as Special Mission Ambassador to the CIS member states.